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THE

LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS MEN.

Mr. Prida

Mr. Robinfol Mr. Attern Catalogue of the Lives, with the Names of the feveral General by whom they are Dental to Explain

ullie Mr. Gardiner. Themiloues. Ariftides. Mr. Mitchell. Paulanias. Mr. Hoy. Cimen. Mr. Creed. Mr. Dirchevalle Ly fander. Alcibiades. Mr. Peers. Thrasybulus. Mr. H. Gilman. Mr. Jenefer. Conon. Mr. Clark. Dion Iphicrates. Mr. Allam. Chabrias . Mr. Kennett. The Honourable Mr. Booth. Timotheus. Mr. Edwards. Datames. Epaminondas. Mr. Lane. Pelopidas. Mr. Creech. Agefilaus. Mr. Scott. Mr. Ch. Allestree. Eumenes. Mr. Todd. Phocion. Mr. Cary. Timoleon. Hamilcar. Mr. Brideck. The Honourable Mr. Finch Hannibal. Mr. Robinson Cato. P. Atticus. Mr. Morgan

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C. NEPOS, Veronensis.

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OF

ILLUSTRIOUS MEN.

Written in Latin by CORN. NEPOS,

And Done into English

By the Honourable Mr. Finch, Mr. Creech, and other Eminent Gentlemen of Oxford.

The Second Coition.

To which is added

A more Just Translation of the most Famous KINGS.

Illustrated with Copper Cuts.

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JAMES

EARL of ABBINGDON,

Lord Lieutenant

OF ToHE monored

County of Oxford, &c.

My LORD,

Nepos, which I now Prefent your Lordship in English,
have had the good Fortune to survive
in their Original (the Latin) seventeen hundred years: And tho' the
Observation of the Excellent Lord
Bacon be very Ingenious, That Time is
like a River, which bears up the Stubble
and such light things, but lets the more
weighty and substantial sink; yet must
his

this be taken for a Similitude, and as fuch is only applicable to the Abuses which the Authority of precedent Ages, as well as other Humane Concerns, is and may be subject to. For to suppose, that those things which have past the Test of the wisest and severest Ages, have at last nothing of intrinsic value in themselves, but owe the long possessing of Fame to a Hit of Fortune, to the Humour or tame Obsequiousness of a long Succession of Admirers, is so bold an Attempt upon the Reason of Mankind, that he that makes it must either have much of the God, or a great deal of the Fool; By invincible Argument to demon-Strate the Mistakes of the Learned World in all its Stages, requires a Soul of a Divine Perspicacity, clear from those Incumbrances that have misguided the Prospect of other Morrals. To oppose a fingle capricious Opinion to the collected Force of fo. many Men's Judgment, looks like the Hero in the Play, or the Knight-Errant in the Romance; who with two Legs and two Arms, Fights and Rours

Routs whole Millions I do not (My Lord) Apologize for our Author, as if He need beg a Bleffing from Antiquity, or wanted the Testimonials of Precedent Ages to support his Credit; had he been Written in this time He is Translated, there is worth enough in Him to recommend Him to all Lovers of History. Cornelius Nepos Liv'd in an Age that had the greatest Taste of Good Sense of any possibly since the Creation. Eloquence did not then consist in the gaudy Trimming of Metaphors, or the forc'd acuteness of a fhort cut Period, but Good Sense naturally and cleanly Express'd, was the Language Augustus and his Court incourag'd. Our Author cannot indeed pretend to the Politeness of Ciceron but yet He has nothing but what is. Manly and Strong; and if my weak Judgment informs me right, there runs through his Writings a Gentile: Vein of speaking unaffectedly, which declares Him a Man remov'd above: the Pedant or Plebeian. Here it must be Confest, He is now and then rough in the Period, and negligent in the A 4.

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Expression; but the judicious Quintilian allows this to be fometimes a Beauty; and 'tis the opinion of most Critics, that if there be any fault in Tully himself, 'tis that He is too Set and Formal in his Stile. There are fome Faces that are very exact in the Symmetry of their Parts, and the mixture of Colour, and yet they are not pleasing; While on the other Hand, there are others in which Nature feems to have made agreeable Mistakes; Eloquence is only the Beauty of Language, in which a too formal observance of Exactness is difguftful. There is as much difference between the Gentile practice of Rhetorick, and the heavy Regularity that arises purely from the attendance upon its Rules, as there is between the Genrile Address of a Gentleman, and the fulfome Compliment of a School-Master. Such is his Stile, that it seems to give Cornelius Nepos a pretence to the Patronage of your Lord-thip, whose Ancestors have reflected greater Honour upon Learning and Learned Societies, than They could ever

ever receive from them. 'Tis in the Great Name of the Bartu's, we meet the two greatest Ornaments of Mankind conjoyn'd, Learning and Nobility; and in that Generous Noble Blood, not only Honour, but Wifdom are convey'd. The reason Petros nious Arbiter gives, why good Sense and true Reason were in his Age in the decline, is, Because every. Man must fish with such baits he thinks will take, but fays the same Ingenious Author, We have lost the generous Palate; Had your Lordship Liv'd in that time, there could have been no occasion for this general Complaint. In your Lordship, a Virgil or a Horace might have found an Agrippa or Macenas, who did not only receive the Compliant ments of those Great Men, but understood their Worth. Our Authorn has in short drawn the Greatest Hew roes that Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Com rimb, and even Afric it felf could boast, and 'tis to Him that Rome does? owe its Atticus. It often happens, that a Prince is better represented by his Coyns, than by his Statues; for HUOY with-

without detracting from the just praise of others, Nepos may possibly give as lively an Idea of an Alcibiades or Themistocles, as those who have drawn out their Descriptions to al greater length; For as in Mens Faces, fo in their Actions, there are certain peculiar Airs that diffinguish one from another; if you hit these, you give the Character as effectually, as if your Canvass was as large as the Object, and you took in every Hair. The delign of History is to instruct by Example, and Correct the Infirmities of Life; to Trace out the Roads by which Great Men arriv'd at Fame, and the Rocks they have split against. All the reward We can pay to defunct Virtue, is a grateful Remembrance of it, and Vice is a Deteftation to Posterity. Phocion's Beneficences will be an Eternal Monument: Eumenes his unshaken Loyalty to the Posterity of his Prince will never be forgotten : And Alcibiades his tender Passion to an ungrateful Country, will last as long as Sense remains in the World, Such Examples may afford Your

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Your Lordship's leisure Hours a Divertisement, but cannot pretend to Direct. The History of your own Family is a Treasure of Greatness and Bravery, which affords Instances (of both Sexes) for every Virtue: and Duty of Life. And here we cannot enough Admire the inimitable: Gallantry of Katharine Dutchess of Suffolk, whose Zeal to the Protestant Religion at least came up to the Example of the most Primitive Confessors; who supported all the Variety of Her numerous Afflictions with the Meekness of Her own Sex, and the Courage of Ours: While every Country prov'd more Hospitable to that Admirable Lady than Her own; and Foreign Nations thought themfelves oblig'd to Reverence that Virtue which we could not Bear. Nor need I instance in those Heroes of your Family, to whose Noble Atchievments the Great Henry of Francewas so highly obliged, and the Dutch owe fo great a part of their Liberty. Nor perhaps was the very attempt of Civilizing Ireland an undertaking of less.

less Gallantry and Spirit, since 'tis eafier to Create than Restore. Where at length the unhappiness of an Headfrong Nation recall'd them from Foreign to Domestick Wars, with how much Courage, how much Loyalty did the Heroick Lindsey espouse his Royal Master's Interest! He despised both the Allurements and Forces of a Faction, then almost Irresistable, and receiv'd the Assaults of the Rebellious. Army, as unmov'd as an Isthmus does. the shock of contesting Waves. He: oppos'd his Person to the most eminent: Dangers in the Defence of oppress'd Majesty, and Died like one that: had a true value for Life, and knew how advantageously a few minutes: of Life were chang'd for an Immortality of Fame.

To be Nobly Born is (My Lord), questionless one of the greatest worldly. Hapinesses kind Heaven bestows; and Nature for several Ages seems to prepare and refine the Blood of a Family, that She may at last work out and introduce one Persectly Great Man. That this is Your Lordship's Case we have rea-

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a. D. fontobelieve, in whom all the Virtues that are thriftily divided amongst or thers, are United. Well then may Cornelius Nepos be Proud of Your Lordship's Name to Lead up his Heroes, and protect those that were while they liv'd, the Patriots of their Country.

Each Virtue takes its proportion from the Exigences of Time and Place. He that stands upon the secure Shore, and undauntedly views the ungovern'di rage of the Ocean, does not, on this: account, deserve the Praise of a Valiant Man; but He is the Master of true Courage, that all the time sedately stems the Ship; endeavours to be safe, yet fears not to meet Death in its most dreadful shape. Amongst the polluted fpawn of Pamphlets which have crawl'd about during this Ferment of the Government, there have been a few who have compared it to a Ship tos'd by dangerous Waves. Let the defign of these Parable-Makers be what it will (as in most of them it has been bad enough) yet the Similitude is to the purpose; and Your Lordinip has had no finall there in preferving this eaky Compale Vellel

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Vessel from Destruction. 'Tis an obfervation too well known among Politicians, That the Virtue of a Prince may sometimes turn to his Destruction; of which we have had a fad Example in the Bleffed Martyr Charles the First, Who Suffer'd, and Dyed for being Good; and the same Tews that acted that sad Tragedy, designed a second upon the Son of his Loyns and Inheritor of His Virtues; As if they were refolv'd by repeated Experiences to revoke that Axiom of the Moralists. That the Natural effect of Benevolence and Goodness, even in this World, is a reciprocal Love and Felicity; and so it is in all except the Fanatick, whom both the Father and Grandfather of our Gracious Prince, affures Us, that no Benefit can oblige. And really the Fanatick is no more to be comprehended with in the general Rules of Reason than the Brute; because as this acts according to the inflinct of its Nature, which often carries it contrary to the principles of a Rational Creature, fo the Fanatick is moved by the giddy Impulse of Enthusiam, which has abundance of more points than the Compais.

Compass. This is that Monster who ever fince His Majesty's Happy, Happy Restoration; hasendeavour'd to lay an open and easie way to the Destruction of the Government, by endeavouring by their unreasonable Calumnies to make the chief Ministers of It Contemptible to the People. They have been indeed, like cunning Artists, a long while heating and preparing the Matter; and in Seventy-eight, when they found the Bent and Byais of the People work'd into a Temper, then it was, that Corab shew'd Himselfand pro nounc'd, That the Prince and the Priest had conspir'd together against our Liberty. This carry'd on under specious pretences, put the People into a fit of downright Madness, and when the Zealous Alarm was made on that fide of the imaginary point of the Compass whence Popery was to come, the Fanatick had just planted his Colours on the contrary part of our City. 'Tis enough to confound a Man and make Him if poffible) to forfwear being in the same Class of Nature with these fort of Animals, to consider the unaccountable Whims in their

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their Proceedings. All that dyed for Dr. Titus his Plot with their last Breath afferting their Innocence were not behev'd, because, Popery allow'd Dispensations for Lying, and could eafily elude, not only the Dictates of Christianity but of Nature too; And now it comes to the Fanaticks turn to Hang, one would think on fuch an occasion they should not only fing Hopkins very heartily, but fpeak true too; and yet all these unfortunate. Gentlemen that dy'd, having, in part at least, acknowledg'd the matter of Fact for which they were Condemn'd, tho' they feem to deny the Guilt of it, the Brethren matter it not; and yet could these believe, that a Mad-man with a Fire-ball upon a pole, fet London into flames.

My Lord, we had felt the difmal effects of this mixture of Villainy and Madness, had not the most Wise Conduct of His MAJESTY (affisted by such Loyal and Courageous Hands as Your Lordships) deliver d Us from the Dreadful Precipice, which we saw and trembled at. The Fable of the Viper, which the kind Country-man having

having warm'd into Life, stung its Benefactor, was by Antiquity thought to express Ingratitude in its highest Extent. The Faction outgoe this; They his at and wound a Prince, who is not only so far their Redeemer, as that He restored them to Life when they were Dead in Lamand Justice, but shew'd Himself of that Forbearance and Clemency, that He seem'd to deliberate whither he had best revenge their Insolence, or fall Himself. Such extraordinary Goodness deserved the Expence of all the Miracles Heaven could lay out for its Deliverance!

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Your Lordship, selt the warm Influence; The same Plague of Republican Principles, which had infected the Capital City of this Fortunate Island, had gain'd too great a Party among the Citizens of this Place. The very Menthat eat Our Bread were keenly prepar'd to have invaded those Sacred Seats which support them, and have continually rescued both them and their Predecessors from Beggary. Affronts are not to be measur'd by the real Loss

we:

we undergo, but that uneafiness of Spirit they bring upon the Men that fuffer them; To be flighted by a Superior is a thing we may calmly (tho' with somegrief) submitto; to be neglected, contemn'd, and trod upon by an Inferior, who depends upon Us for his very Breath, is so insufferable Usage that nothing but the Meekness of a Primitive Confessor could forgive it. And how have the Gowns-men deferved this? Because we are Popishiy affected, by Religiously observing the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; because we were Pentioners of France, and undermin'd the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, by afferting one of the most Sacred Esfentials: of the Government, the LINEAL SUC-CESSION, which could neither by the Dispensation of a Pope, or the Power of Parliament be alter'd. Your Lordship tho' Personally Affronted by this ingrateful illiterate Society) durst stements Torrent, which threatned an easie Ruin to all its Oppofers; and possibly, that the very Brutes that graze and fatten upon the Hill of Parnassus, have not made Food or Us its Inhabitants,

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s, is is in no small measure due to Your Lordship's Care. H Which the Ingenious Gentlemen concern'd in this Tranflation (who did me the Honour to Commission me, tho of all Men the most unsit, to recommend it to Your Lordship's Patronage) do gratefully acknowledge; and it was not the vanity of having a Name prefix'd to two or three Leaves done into English that prompted them to joyn in this small concern, but the defire they had to make a publick Refentment of those: many Favours Your Lordship has been pleased to bestow upon this Our Sacred Learned Athens. I has safely all

And now having Executed my Commission to the utmost of my small Abilities, I must not in good manners trouble Your Lordship any surther than to beg leave to assure You, that I am with all imaginable Respect,

on ve decimande 10 JK60 no April

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Obliged Humble Servant

LEOPOLD WILLIAM FINCH

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Here is no part of Human Learning to univerfally Advantaus to Mankind, as Hiftory. It refeues our Ancestors from Oblivion; It can Instruct and Delight the Present and Future Ages. We are oblig'd by all the Laws of Natu--ral Religion, to preserve our Relations as long as possibly we can: Even then when their Lives are scarce worth the keeping, when Old Age has render'd them uselfs both in Publick and Private Capacities, by the nauseous Methods of Physick, we endeavour to keep them among us. And certainly our Piety should not end at the Grave; but employ it felf in securing all that remains of them. Urns and

and Pyramids can only preserve their Ashes; which are, even to the most curious Observer, undistinguishable from those of other Men. Pictures and Medals represent only their outward Lineament's; which are often not unlike in Fools and Wife men. But Hiltory gives an Account of their Nobler Parts; their Wit, their Learning, and their Virtue: And the Reader hath, what will be no inconfiderable part of our Happiness in the other World, the Conversation of all the Great and Good Men of past Ages. And their Examples will prove to him far greater Incentives to Virtue than all the grave and ferious Precepts of Philosophers. They assume to themselves the Boldness and Majesty of a Legislator, lay down rigid and severe Rules of Life, treatus with jejune and abstracted Notions, which few Perfons can understand, much less deduce to practice: But the force of Example is intelligible to the meanest Capacities. We Read, and Admire, and, having naturally an Itch after Glory, purfue the same Methods our Forefathers so fuccessfully proceeded in.

But tho' Hiftory in General be for Pleasant and Instructive, yet certainly Biography is more Eminently for The General Historian is wholly taken up in giving the Relations of Great and Glorious Exploits; of the Rife and Fall of Empires and Great Men. You have Alexander at the Grunic, and Cafar in the Fields of Pharfalia: Butan account of their daily Conversation, of the Menage of their Estate, their Behaviour to their Friends and their Family, their Government of their own Passions, is below the Dignity of the Subject; and if the Author should oblige us by an ufeful Digression (it may be, of more real Advantage than the whole Series of the History) it would be call'd by the Men of Art, an impertinent Excrescence; and the whole Work be Esteem'd Monstrous, that in one part fo fwells beyond the lawful proportion. As the poor Poet is Damn'd in Horace, that because he had got a delicate Description of the Rhine, was resolv'd to insert it into his Poem, the wholly impertinent to sycefsfully proceeded in.

Yet certainly the History of these Actions, the of a meaner nature, is infinitely more useful. The other, it true, are more Heroical and Illustrious, extremely fit objects for our Admiration, but usually unimitable. They do indeed raise our Attention; but then they debauch our Reason: For as the Stomachs of those who have indulg'd themselves in the use of Spirituous Liquors, can afterwards admit of no wholesom Diet: So after these Miraculous Accounts of Knights and Giants, all sober and sound Sense proves Nauseous to us.

In the General History, we see the Hero at the Head of an Army, or in a Triumph; but by what Steps and Degrees he rais'd Himself to this Greatness, we are unacquainted with; which would yet more improve and delight the Reader. The Acquisition of Glory, is like that of Money: The greatest Art confists in getting a Stock at first; which afterwards, if manag'd with an ordinary Prudence, encreases prodigiously.

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Biography is indeed of a limited and confin'd Nature; fince it respects only the Actions of particular Persons, and is not oblig'd to give the whole Process of an Expedition. And therefore, fince the Mithridatic War was manag'd by Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, fucceffively, an accurate Description of it is not to be expected from the Biographer. But then the General Hiftorian is as imperfect in the Lives of particular Persons; takes them only as they fall in his Way, and cannot infift longupon them, without transgressing the Laws of a Methodical History. But the Biographer attends his Hero from the Cradle to the Throne: Shews him at first, it may be, mean and contemptible, despis'd and depress'd, till at last by Virtue and Industry he breaks thro' all Impediments, and in despite of Envy and Detraction, mounts Himfelf above his peevish Enemies. He accompanies him in his Retirements, gives his Carriage to his Friend and Relations, acquaints you with his Divertisements, lays alide the State and Grandeur, the Pomp and Biograand Parade, draws the Scene, and shews you the Man himself, divested of his Gaudy or Formal Drefs. And then, whereas the General Historian, like a false Courtier, takes notice of him only in his Greatness; and when he becomes unfit for Service in the Camp or the Senate (as some ill Mafters do their worn-out Servants) deferts him; Biography still waits upon him, tho' discarded the Court; and tells you with what Courage and good Grace he bears the Affronts of his ungrateful Country-men, his Sick-ness, and Death it self. Which certainly (unless you read History as Ladies do Romances) you would as willingly be informed of, as his Gallantry in the hottest Engagement. Twere easie to enlarge upon this Subject, were I to write a Panegyric of Biography, and not the Life of a particular Historian.

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Among Authors of this Nature, there is scarce any so considerable as C. Nepos; who has had the good Fortune to please the most Judicious Critics of all Ages; but in this is strange-

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ly unhappy, That having been so industrious in Immortalizing other Men, and having wrote a particular Volume of the Lives of Historians, he himself has been almost forgotten, and we have very little left us concerning him. Nay, and to add to the Missortune, even this very Treatise, of the Lives of Excellent Generals, which is the only one left us of his numerous Writings, hath by some very ill Judges been attributed to an obscure Person, one Emilius Probus, who liv d in the Barbarous Age of Theodosius. But of this below.

He was born in Hostilia, a Village depending upon Verona; whereof Pliny, Antonine in his Itinerary, &c. make mention; and is at this day subject to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Verona. Verona lies near the Po; upon which account Pliny calls our Author Podi Accola: It is situated like wise in that part of Italy which the Romans (for to us'tis otherwise) call'd Italia Transpadana, that part of Italy which is on the other side the Po: So that Catulus, in his Dedication of his

C. NEPOS.

his Excellent Poems to C. Nepos, might very justly call him an Italian. But because the same Country was call'd Gallia Togata (or that part of Gall wherein Gowns, the Roman Habit, were worn, in opposition to Gallia Braceata, so nam'd from the Garments of the Barbarous Inhabitants) Aufonius, alluding to Catullus's foremen-tion'd Epigram, tells his Pacatus, That he had found a more Learn'd and Obliging Patron than Gall furnished Catallas with. But these two Poets may be eafily reconcil'd, confidering that the same place was, with different respects, reckon'd part both of Gall and Italy. Nov, that Nepos was a Veronese, was the constant opinion of that City, where in the Senate House his Statue was Erected among those of the Illustrious Men born there. Elios Vinetus would indeed perswade us, that there is nothing of certainty when Nepos was born; but besides the constant Tradition of the City of Verona, and that his Statue was plac'd among those of the Veronian Writers, (which certainly would fatisfie any Man of a B 2 tolerable

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tolerable ingenuity) we have the Authority of Leander, Albertus, Paulus Merula, and of the Learn'd and Illustrious Alexander Becellus, Chancellor of Verona.

The Territories of Verona enjoy a delicate thin Air; the Soil as healthful, as well water'd, and fupply'd with Fruits of all kinds, as most places in the World; as if it were defign'd by Nature for the Country of Great and Witty Men. Tis not impossible for a great Genius to proceed from an unhealthy and boggy Soil, where the Air as well as Water stag-nates, and is corrupted: But 'tis very improbable there should. Plutarch and Pindar were Born in Bæotia, but not one eminent Writer more, as we hear of. Erasmus came from Rotterdam; and yet the greatest Judge of the last Age was pleas'd to say of Gretser, 'Tis a Witty Man for a German. And if we consider the dependance which our Souls have upon our Bodies, as to their operations, we need not wonder, that thick and foggy Airs should so seldom be bles'd with extra.

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extraordinary Men. 'Tis certainly a mighty Advantage to be Born in a place eminent for Wit and Learning; where great Examples daily appear before us, and raife in us a generous. Emulation to equal or surpass them: Upon this account it is, that Cities have become famous for some particular Excellence; and Wit, as some Herbs, if once rooted in a ground, cannot without difficulty be got out. Verona has indeed produc'd as great Wits, and as Learn'd Men in all Faculties, as any City perhaps in the Worldi Here were Born the two Plinies, Macer the Botanic Poet, Vitravius the Architect, and (in a later Age) that Prodigy of Wit and Learning Hieronymus Fracastorius, the best Physitian, Mathematician, and Poet of his Age.

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As Nepos was Born in a Place famous for Polite Learning, fo likewife in an Age when Wit and Elegance of Style were advanc'd to their utmost perfection; in that Age which the Critics wil, The Golden Age of Eloquence. There is no question, but Junius the

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Rebel, M. Valerius the Dictator, Menenius Agrippa, so famous for Reconciling the Patricians and Plebeians, did make Orations to the People; tho? not fo fine ones as Historians ascribe to them. They were certainly Men of incomparable Valour and of found Sense; but they had only a good unpolish'd rough Eloquence, and with that attain'd their Ends upon a People rude and illeterate; and wanted only a Grecian Education to render 'em the greatest Wits in their Age. But as the Roman Empire began to extend it felf into Greece, and People admir'd the Oratory of that Nation, the Roman Language was daily refin'd. It at first became neat and clean, the Words and Phrases proper and easie, not florid, much less ranting and fustian. This is that which is fo admirable in the ancient Comedies, of which Plantus and Terence are the only now left us; which as Scaliger well observes, our misfortunes have endear'd to us; we admire them the more, because we have none else lest us to admire. In the Eloquence of that Age, there was nothing

C. NEPOS.

nothing affected, nothing of Paint and Daubing, but pure Natural Beauty, undebauch'd, and preferable upon account of its Native simplicity to all the swelling Rhetoric of some after Ages. But at last the Roman style was Illustrated with Tropes and Figures; which, if Modestly made use of, are the real Ornaments of a style; but if us'd with Imprudence, become nauseous, and more like the Sayings of a Mad-man than an Orator. In this Golden Age, the Romans had rais'd themselves to the utmost pitch, they had gone as far as Prudence would permit them; which when their immediate Successors endeavour'd to furpass, they swell'd into Bombast, and their Wit was more like an Hydropic Tumour, than a Natural Plumpness. The Spaniards brought this difease of style into Italy; and Cicero in his Oration for Archios the Poet, exposes the Barbarous and Greasie Wit of that Nation. And yet there are fome Men who compare and prefer Martial to Catullus, between whom there is as wide a difference, as be-Vostmin twixt

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was ing twixt the fordid Drollery of a Buffoon and the Ingenious Raillery of a Gentleman. They have had a greater efteem for the Heat of Lucan, than the just Greatness of Virgil. But the best Judges rather pity these mistaken Gen-

tlemen, that dispute with them.

Now to be confiderable in fuch an Age as this, to be infinitely esteem'd and carefs'd by the greatest Persons in it, is an infallible Argument of the real Excellence of an Author. When Cicero, Catullus, Atticus, Oe. appear as Witnesses, it must needs be a vile Ignoramus Jury that will not find the Bill. Catullus, the most accurate and delicate Epigrammatist that ever writ, dedicated his Poems to him. Cicero was his most intimate and bosom Friend; there was a constant Intercourse of Letters betwixt them. Sueron in his Life of Julius Cafar takes notice of a Letter from Cicero to Nepos, and Lactantius quotes an Epistle of Nepos to Tully. Nay their Epistolary Commerce was fogreat, that Macrobius makes mention of the fecond Book of Epistles from Tully to Nepos. His intimacy

intimacy with Atticus is evident from the Life of Atticus, here annex'd to his Lives of Excellent Generals; for Atticus himself was so far from being one, that he never engag'd in the War either for Casar or Pompey, and yet had the good Fortune (which I believe very sew of that Humour ever met with) to be Honour'd, esteem'd, and unmolested thro? the whole course of his Life.

He left many Learned and Curious Works behind him, which the injury of time hath depriv'd us of; and we have only just enough left us to fee the greatness of our loss in the rest. He was Author of a Book, which he call'd his Chronicle, wherein (in three distinct Volumes) he gave an account of those three great Intervals of. time, which Historians so much talk of, The Obscure and Uncertain, the Fabulous, and the Historical Ages of the World. As to the first and second, Tertullian informs us, that Nepos affirms, there never was any Saturn but what was a Man; and Aufonius tells his Pupil the Emperor, that he fent B 5 him.

S

him Titianius's Fables, and Nepos's Chronicles, which were not much unlike 'em; and Catullus in his Preface to his Poems, tells us, that Nepos did Omne Evum tribus explicare chartis.

Besides this great Work, he writ the Lives of Illustrious Men, of which twenty two, which respect the Grecians and Barbarians, are transmitted to us; and likewise the Lives of the Roman Hero's (as is evident from his Life of Hannibal), and the Roman Kings. But what thro' the Invalion of Foreign Nations, and the Ignorance and carelessness of Superstitious Monks, who let them ly and rot unobferv'd in their Libraries, we have only their . Titles from other Authors, which had the good fortune to furvive. Emilius Probus hath by some Critics bin suppos'd to be the Author of the Lives of Foreign Generals, But 'tis a palpable mistake occasion'd by an Epigram prefix'd to some antient Manuscripts of this Author, wherein Probus commands his Book, if the Emperor Theodosius enquire after the Author, to

to tell Him it is one Probus. But then it follows, Corpore in hos manus eft Genetricis Avique Meique, viz. that his own hand, his Mothers, and Grandtathers were concern'd in the work. Whence 'tis clear beyond contradiction, that this Probus was only a Transcriber. Besides, can Rebortellus who writa Treatise of the Art of Criticism, or any Man of common Learning and Sense, perswade himself, that this wretched Poet could be the Author of this most delicate and Judicious piece of History. But from the cleanness and teriness of Expression may undeniably be evinc'd, that the Author of this Book liv'd in the Age of Julius and Augustus; and besides all this there are forty places in the Lives themselves that prove Nepos was their Author, and liv'd in the Age aforesaid, for which if you please consult Lambin.

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But Nepos hath not bin more abus'd by ascribing his Works to other Men, than in making him the Author of some pieces wholy Unworthy of him. Thus the Book of Illustrions Men, which usually was said to be Pliny's, but is really

really Aurelius Victor's, fome Critics Father upon our Author, and the Translation of Dares the Phrygian is faid to be his: But the very style it self is fufficient to convince any Judicious Reader. Nepos, in the Judgment of fome Men liv'd after the Nativity of our Lord, but if you consider how Celebrated he was for his Learning in the days of Catullus, Cicero and Atticus, you will find no great reason to subfcribe to their Opinion.

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THE CHRONOLOGY TO CORN. NEPOS.	Olympiad.	Year of Olympiad.	Before Christ.
Militiades Overcomes the Persians at Marathon Dies in Prison	72 72	3	490 489
Themistocles Overcomes the Persians at Salamis. Banish'd Dies Aristides Banish'd by Ostracism With Pausanias overthrows and kills Mardonius	73 77 79 74 75	I. 2 2 2 2	408 471 463 483
Paufanias Conspires against Greece Is starv'd	75	4	477 477
Cimon overcomes the Persians in a Naval Fight Is Banish'd by Ostracism Overcomes the Persians by Sea and Land Dies	77 82 82 82	01m m4	430 450 450 449
Lyfander Besieges Athens Takes it Alcybiades is Banish'd	93 94 92	4	405 404 412
Recall'd Dies Thrafybulus Commander of the A-	92 94	2 I	404
Overcomes the Thirty Tyrants Dies	92 94 99	4 4	411 401 308 Conon

Conon overcomes the Lacedemonians			
at Cnidus	96	3	394
Fortifies the Pirkeum	96	4	393
Dion His flight and Preparation for			
War against Dionysius	IOI	3	358
He dies	106	2	355
Iphierates General of the Athenians	Tur	f CT	
Obtains the Victory at Corinth and	96		300
lays down his Command		4	393
Overcomes the Lacedemonians	100	4	Control of the Control
Is kill'd by Fraud	IOI	4	377
Timotheus General of the Athenians			
Datames Liv'd about	101		376
But I Land And the But I have been been been been been been been be	94	4	400
Epaminondas Made Commander of the Thebans			Dies
Overcomes the Lacedemonians at	101	2	3.75
Leudra Las awoulnevo	102	2	37 F
Befieges Sparks	102	4	360
Dies in the Battel at Montinea	104	Aire	363
Pelopidas Taken Captive	101	1	368
Recover'd and ambast soit	103	\$2000 ACC	367
Agefilau makes War in Afia.	96	12	395
Against the Persiaus in Egypt, where	82 YU	U III	
he dies, His Age Eighty four, His Reign Fourty one			lalen
	100	1	Dist
Eumenes is made Tutor to Alexan- der's Children	114	2	310
His War against Antigonus	115	4i	314
	116	36	315
Photion puts to flight Clitarchus the		5	Mais I
Tyrant	109	4	340
Timolson Delivers from flavery Co-	muDy	a lar	Pend L
rinth and Syracuse	159	2.	143
Overcomes the Corinthians	159	4	140
Dies	306	12	millean
		Ha	Mereterna

Hamilear Governor of Sicily for the Carthagenians Hannihal Passes the Alps Gains the Victory at Cannals Is overthrown by Scipio Flies to Antiochus Dies, His Age sixty three M. P. Cato Consul Censor Dies, T. P. Atticus Liv'd C. Nepos Liv'd	132 104 141 144 146 149 146 149 157 178	4 4 2 3 2 3 2 1 4 4 4	259 218 216 202 195 182 195 184 149
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PREFACE

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Do not doubt (my Atticus) but a great many will censure this way of Writing, not only as frivolous, but unworthy the Persons of Excellent Men, when they shall read these little Memoirs related of them; As who was the Master that taught Epaminondas Musick; and that it was reckon'd among st his chief Accomplishments, that He had an handsome way of Dancing, and sung skilfully to the Flute. But this is the opinion only of those who being ignorant of the Grecian Learning, think nothing right but what strictly quadrates with their own Manners; but if these would but once Learn, that things Decent and Uncomely do not appear with the same Aspect of Honesty and Turpitude to all Persons, but that every thing ought to be measur'd

PREFACE.

measur'd by the Institutions of our Ancestors; it will suppress their admiration, that in the Celebrating the Virtues of the Grecians we have followed their Customs; for it was not objected as a Scandal to Cimon, who was one of the Greatest Perfonages amongst the Athenians, that he Married his half Sister which his Father had by a former Lady; since it was a familiar usage, that obtain'd amongst the rest of the Citizens, tho' it breaks in upon our ways of Living, and is counted Irreligion. It was a thing highly applanded in Greece, that young Lads were Catamites, and had many Rivals in that unnatural pleasure; and at Lacedomon. there was not a Widow, tho' of the Noblest Extraction, but would act her part in a Comedy, and take Money for it; In the same Greece, likewise it was matter of singular Triumph, to be proclaim'd a Conqueror in the Olympick Games; and yet to come forth upon the Stage, and be a spectacle of diversion to the People, was not look'd upon by that Nation as any ways opprobrious; all which things notwithstanding kindle our Aversion, as being partly downright Infamous, and partly be-Long

PREFACE.

low the Dignity of our Characters, and very far from being feemly or becoming; on the contrary, a great many actions carry with us the impression of Decorum, which are thought very level by them; As for instance, what Roman blusheth to lead his Wife to an Entertainment? And what Mother of a Family will not reside in the most frequented part of her house, and contribute her share of Conversation at a Publick Feast? And yet 'tis much otherwife practis'd in Greece, for there they never come to any jolly Assignation, unlessinvited by their near Relations; and are never seen but in the most inward Aparts ments, which they call from thence (Gyneconitis) the Chamber of the Women; and no one's approches were permitted thither, but of those, who gain'd access by the priviledge, either of Blood or Affinity; but the bulk of the Volume will not let: me run through any more Examples of this kind; and Expedition calls upon me to give me the last hand to those things which I have begun; therefore we will come close to the purpose, and in this Book draw to your view the Lives of these Illu-Arious Commanders. 10 JY 60 THE



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MILTIADES.

Addicates; we nomif they would elect, they

Done into English by Mr. Tullie, M. A. of Queen's College, Oxon, and SubDean of York.

When an Athenian, had got himfelf a great and Illustrious Name, as well for his own Native Modesty, as by the Ancient and Renowned Family whence he was descended; and was now arriv'd at those Years which were sufficient to consirm his Fellow-Citizens in the high opinion they always had of him: It happen'd that the Athenians were upon a new project of Conquering and Transplanting

ing Colonies to the Chersonese. * And fince the Defign was generally applauded, feveral being come in Volunteers to offer the fervice in the Expedition, it was thought fit to depute some of them to go to Delphos, and there confult the Oracle of Appollo about the choice of a General. For at that 'time the Thracians were Masters of those Countries, who were not to be disposses'd but by force of Arms, When they were arriv'd at Delphos, and had address'd themselves to the Oracle, the Answer it returned was positive and express in the choice of Miltiades; whom if they would elect, they should be successful in their Undertaking. Milriades confirm'd in his Command by fo great an Authority, fets Sail for the Chersonese, with a felect Band of men; and touching upon Lemnos in his Road, would willingly have reduc'd the Inhabitants of that Island under the Dominion of the Athenians, requiring them immediately to furrender themselves. But they laugh'd at the demand, and reply'd, That yes they would, when he should Sail from home to Lemnos with a Northerly Wind; which is contrary to them who come from Athens to those Coasts. But Miltiades's Affair would not admit of delay, and therefore without any farther attempt, e de la principa del la principa de la principa del la principa de la principa de la principa del la principa de la principa del la principa del la principa del la principa del la princi

rappen'd that the Athenius were upon a

The Thracian Cherfonese, or Peninsula.

he steer'd his course directly for the Chersonele, where he fafely arriv'd. And having, in a short time, defeated the Forces of those Barbarians, and made himself Master of the Cherfonese, he fortified the most convenient places of it with Caftles and Citadels, and planted all the Country with his own Soldiers, whom he enrich'd with the booty of frequent Excursions. Nor had Fortune a greater share in the success of this Expedition than his own Prudence. For having routed the Enemies Forces by the Valour of his own, he manag'd the whole concern of the Victory with the greatest Equity imaginable; and made the Cherfonese the place of his Residence. For he acted as King among st them, tho' he had not the Title; and yet ow'd not his Power fo much to the Absoluteness of his Command as to the Justice of his Actions. For notwithstanding the greatness of his Fortune, he was ready to do any acts of kindness for his Country-men the Athenians. By which means he eftablish'd his Authority not only in the Hearts and Affections of the Athenians who gave it him, but of those also over whom he was to exercise it too. And having thus settled the Government of his late Conquest, he comes back to Lemnos, and (by virtue of his former Compact with the Inhabitants) demands the Surrendry of their City into his hands: For they had promised to yield them-Selves

felves up to him when he (hould Sail from Home to Lemnos by a North Wind; which was now perform'd from his Habitation in the Chersonese. The Carians who then Inhabited the Island, tho they little expected such a demand of the performance of a jocular promife, ye were forc'd to comply and quit the Island; not fo much out of the Sense of any obligation they conceiv'd themselves to lie under, as of the Power and great success of the Enemy whom they were to Encounter. Nor was he less happy in reducing those other Mands, call'd Oyelades, under the Athemian Dominion. In those days Darius, the Persian King, resolving upon a War with the Scythians, built a Bridge upon the Danube, for the paffing over his Army, and gave the chief Command of it, and of their respective Cities, to the Forces which he had rais d in Ionia and Lolis For he went upon this Ground, that it would be the best Expedient to keep the Greeks who inhabited Afia, in Subjection during the War, to entrust their Friends and Country-men with the Command of his Towns, who could expect no Quarter if he chanc'd to be defeated. Among fithe reft of thefe Governors was Militades; who, when he had continual news brought him of the ill fuccels of the Persians Arms against the Scythians, exhorted the Commanders of the Bridge, Not to baulk so fair an opportunity of freeing Greece from the Rersian Toke; alledg-(elber ing,

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ing, That if Darius and his Forces were but defeated now, not only all Europe would be free from apprehensions of his Arms for the future, but that the poor Greeks likewife who inhabited Asia would be rescued from the slavery they underwent, and the dangers they were expos'd to from their Perlian Masters; and that if the Bridge were but demolifted, the Design must of necessity take effect, and the Perfians perish either by the Sword or Famine in a few days. When several of the Company had join'd with, and seconded Militades, Hestius Milesius crav'd leave to diffent from them, objecting, That the' it might be expedient for the generality of the People to be freed from their subjection to Darius, yet it could by no means be so to them, who bore Command under Him: That their power and interest was imbark'd in the same bottom with Darius's Empire; which if once overthrown, their Employs must expire with it, and they fuffer by the hands of their own Fellow-Citizens. And therefore, that he was so far from concurring with them, that for his part he thought it highly their interest that the Persian Empire should be upheld and establish'd. When Milriades understood by the sense of the Company, that the point would be carry'd against him, and easily imagining, that of so many who were privy to the Confult, fomelwould certainly come in and inform the King of the Plot, He thought

it his fafest way to leave the Chersonese, and return to Athens. And the indeed the majority of the Cabal thought not sit then to concur with him in the Design, yet was it a generous Proposal in him, in that he rather consulted the Liberty of his Country

than his own private Interest.

Darius, after his return from Europe into Asia, being advis'd by his Council to try if he could reduce Greece under his Dominions, fitted out a Fleet of Fifty Sail of Ships in order to that defign; whereof he made Datis and Artaphernes Admirals, and gave them the Command of 200000 Foot, and 10000 Horfe; alledging the affront that the Athenians had put upon him in affifting the Ionians in the taking of Sardis, and putting the Garrison to the Sword, as the ground and occasion of the War against them. The Persians landing at Eubea, immediately made themselves Masters of Eretria, and fent the Inhabitants of the Country into Asia to Darius. From thence they marched as far as Attica, into the Fields of Marathon, which is about ten Miles from the Town. The Athenians, tho' they were in a great Consternation at the near approaches of fo powerful an Enemy, yet folicited they none but the Lacedemonians for their Affistance; to whom they dispatch'd Philippus (one of those Couriers whom

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whom they call'd * Hemerodromi) to acquaint them what urgent occasions they had for their speedy Relief. In the mean time they chose ten Great Officers to command the Army, whereof Miltiades was one; amongst whom it was hotly debated, Whether it were more advisable for them to rely upon the strength of the Town, or to march out and fight the Enemy. Miltiades press'd them with greater earnestness than any of the rest, to pitch their Tents as soon as possibly they could; for that by this means the Citizens would be excited to behave themselves more bravely, when they saw how highly their Valour was rely'd upon; and the Enemy's Advances would be retarded when they (hould observe with what a small handful of Menthey resolv'd to fight them. There were none who actually affifted the Athenians in this juncture but the Plateans, who fent them a thousand Men, which made them compleatly ten thousand strong; a small number, but fir'd with a wonderful desire to be in Action. Miltiades, by this Counsel of his, became more considerable than his Collegues; for 'twas upon the great Authority his Advice had amongst them, that the Athenians march'd their

^{*} Stout young Fellows, who were dispatch'd abroad upon State affairs, and performed their Errand with great expedition.

Forces out of the Town, where they were encamp'd conveniently, and the next day after, at the foot of an Hill, join'd Battle with all the Courage imaginable, and the advantage of a new stratagem, on their side: For they had block'd up the paffages with Trees in feveral places, to the intent, that they might both be shelter'd by the tops of the Mountains, and that the Trees in the way might hinder the Enemies Horse from breaking in upon them. Datis, tho' he faw that the Athenians had manifestly the advantage of the place, yet relying upon the vaft odds he had in the number, and confidering also, that the Spartan Auxiliaries were not yet arriv'd, resolv'd to engage them; and accordingly led up an hundred thousand of his Infantry, and ten thousand Horse, with which he gave them Battle; wherein the Valour of the Athenians fo far exceeded that of their Enemies, that they defeated ten times the number of their own Forces; and fo affrighted the Persians, that they never offer'd to make towards their Camp again, but fled to their Veffels. Than which Fight never certainly was any thing more Illustriously Great and Glorious: For never did fo fmall an handful of Men conquer for numerous and powerful an Army. here it may not be improper to remarque what Militades had for the Reward of great an Action; whereby we may perceive

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how the same Humour and Genius runs thro' all Bodies Politic. For as the Marks of Honour which the Romans formerly fix'd upon the bravest Men, were very rare and inconsiderable, and for that reason more fignally honourable; tho' now indeed they are grown common and extravagant: So we find it was anciently amongst the Athenians; for this great Miltiades, to whom all Greece. as well as Athens, ow'd their fafety, had only this Honour done him, that when the Fight at Marathon was painted in the Gallery call'd * Pacile, he was drawn the first of all the ten Commanders, exhorting his Soldiers, and giving Battle to the Enemy. And yet the same People, after they had enlarg'd their Territories, and became once corrupted with the Bribery of their Magiftrates, decreed no less than three Hundred Statues to the Honour of Demetrius Phalereus. After this Engaement at Marathon, the Athenians made him Admiral of a Fleet of Seventy Sail of Ships, to make War upon those Islands which had affisted the Barbarians. Several whereof fubmitted without Resistance, and some he took by Assault. Amongst the rest that held out was the Island Parus, a rich and arrogant People, whom when he could by no means per**fwade**

^{*} wounian, fo call'd from the variety of Pictures wherewith it was adorn'd.

Iwade to a Surrendry, he Landed his Men, made his Works about the City, and depriv'd them of all Supplies; and had by the help of Sconces gradually made his ap-proaches so near to the Walls, that he was just upon the point of carrying the Town, when there happened, I know not how, a Grove of Trees to be fired a far off in the Continent in the Night; which as foon as it was perceiv'd by the Burgers and Beliegers, they both imagin'd that it was fome Sign which was given by the Scouts to the Perfian Fleet: Whereupon the Besieg'd became less inclin'd to a Surrendry; and Miltiades fearing a fudden on let from the Royal Navy, let fire to his Works, and return'd to Athens only with the full Number of Ships they had at first given him the Command of. Which foenrag'd the Athenians, that they impeached him of Treason against the State, That when he might have took Parus, he was Brib'd from prosecuting the Design by the King of Perfia. He was at this time laid up of the Wounds which he had receiv'd in the Siege, and therefore, because he was not in a Capacity of answering for himself, his Brother Tisagoras appear'd for him. When the whole Evidence was given in against him, the Crime was not found Capital, but he was fin'd however fifty Talents; which was as much as was expended in Equipping the whole Fleet. And being non-folvent,

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was cast into Prison, where he died. But tho' the business of Parus was the pretext, yet was it not the real cause of his Prosecution: For the Athenians, who still retain'd the Tyranny of Pisastratus (which had raged but a few Years before) fresh in their Memories, were extream apprehensive of the growing Power of any Fellow-Citizen. And they imagin'd, that Miltiades, who had born fo great Offices and Commands, would not afterwards be eafily content to move in a narrower and private Sphere; and that fince he had been us'd to Rule, the force of meer Cuftom would incline him to aspire after it still. For all the while he dwelt in the Cherfonese he had the Government wholly in his own Hands, and was stiled a Tyrant, but Govern'd according to Law: For he ow'd not his Power to the hands of Violence, but to the good Will of his Subjects, which he maintain'd by his own Gentleness and Moderation. Now they who had the supreme Government in any Commonwealth during Life, which formerly enjoy'd the Liberty of Electing, were call'd Tyrants. But Miltiades was a person of great Humanity, and so exceedingly affable and obliging, that the meanest of his Subjects had free and easie Access to him. A mighty deference was paid him every where. His Name grew great and venerable; and he had the Character of

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an incomparable Soldier. And upon these motives the People thought it more secure to take him out of the Way (tho' he deserved it not) than to live under the continual apprehensions of danger from so great a Man.

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THEMISTOCLES.

Conditions and Assessment of St. L. M.

Done into English by Mr. Gardiner L. L. B. and Fellow of All-Souls Coll. Oxon.

of Newcles, was an Athenian.
The Vices which debauch'd the beginning of his Youth were reform'd by many eminent Virtues which appear'd in his more mature Age; so that he was excell'd by none, and there were but few who might be thought his Equals. But to trace him from his Cradle. His Father Neocles was a Gentleman, who married a Citizen of Acarnania, of whom Themistocles was born *. His profuse and dissolute

^{*} Authors differ concerning Themistocles's Mother, both as to her Name and Country.

dissolute life when he was young, with the neglect of his Estate and worldly concerns, were fo difpleafing to his Parents, that they difinherited him. Which Difgrace did rather animate than depress his Spirits. For when he confider'd that his Reputation thus loft, could not eafily be regain'd, he devoted himself wholly to the service of the Commonwealth, grew very complaifant to his Friends, and made it his business to be Popular. He was often made an Arbitrator to reconcile private Differences, and was very frequent at the publick Affemblies. There was no business of more than ordinary concern but it pass'd thro' his hands; for he quickly apprehended what was most necessary to be done, and express'd the fame in an easie and familiar stile. Neither was he less ready in the managing of any affair then in the contriving of it; because (as Thucydides fays) he had a true judgment of things prefent, and would give a shrew'd guess at what was to come. So that upon the account of these his extraordinary parts, he in a fhort time became of great repute among the Athenians.

The first Honour which was conferr'd upon him, was the Government of the Commonwealth in the Corcyrean War; for the carrying on of which he being chofen General, made the Athenians, not only in that, but also in all after-Expeditions,

more warlike than they had formerly been-For whereas the publick Money, which their Silver-Mines brought them in, was every year lavishly spent by the Prodigality of their Magistrates, he prevail'd so far with the People, as to perswade them with that Money to build a Fleet of an Hundred Ships. Which being in a fhort time effected, he first subdued his Enemies the Corcyraans, and then fcowr'd the Sea of all the Pyrats, with which it was much infefted. By this Action he mightily enrich'd the Athenians, and made them most expert Sea-Soldiers And how much this conduc'd to the fafety of all Greece, may be eafily gather'd from the Persian War: For when Xerxes invaded all Europe both by Sea and Land, with fuch puiffant Armies as no Prince, either before or fince his time, has as yet had; with a Fleet of Twelve Hundred Men of War, attended by Two thousand Victualling Ships; and Land Forces, to the number of Seven Hundred Thousand Foot, and Four Hundred Thousand Horse. The news of whose approach being brought to Greece, with a report that his designs were chiefly against the Athenians, to revenge his defeat at Marathon, they immediately fent to Delphos to confult the Oracle, what would be best for them then to do as to their present Affairs: Pythia advises them to fortifie themselves with a Wooden Wall. The meanng of which Answer, when no body understood, Themistocles thus expounded it, telling them, That it was the advice of Apollo, that they should take their Families and their Goods with them into their Ships, for those the Oracle meant by the Wooden Wall. Which Counsel they approved of, and they built as many Galleys as they had Ships before, and so carried all their Moveables, some to Salamis and some to Trazent. Their Tower and their Images they delivered up to the care of their Priests, and a few old Men, and so they less the Town.

This Counsel was very ungrateful to most of the Cities, because they had much rather have been engag'd in a Land War. Therefore a felect Company are fent under Command of Leonidas King of the Lacedamonians, to possess themselves of Thermopyla, and to flop the farther progress of the Barbarians. But they were over-power'd by the Forces of fo great an Enemy, and were all cut off in that very place. The first Engagement of the two Fleets (that of the Grecians confisting of Three Hundred Sail, whereof Two belong'd to the Athewians) was at Artemisium, between Eubaa and the Continent. The reason why Themistocles made choice of those Streights was, left fo great a multitude might have furrounded him. Here, tho' both Navies. retreated

retreated upon equal terms, yet the Athenians durst not maintain their Station; because they fear'd, that if part of the Enemy's Fleet should get beyond Eubaa, they would engage them on both sides. Upon which account they were forc'd to leave Artemisium, and sail to Salamis, which

is over against Athens.

But Xerxes having gain'd Thermopyle, immediately marched to Athens, where meeting with no opposition, he kill'd the Priests which he found in the Tower, and fir'd the City. At the news of which the Seamen was much terrified; and when they durst not stand to their Colours, and 'twas the advice of most of them, that every one should go home to their own Houses, and defend themselves as well as they could within their Walls, Themistocles alone flood undaunted, telling them, That so long as they held together in one Body they might equal the Enemy; but protesting, if once dispers'd they must necessarily perish. And that that would be their fate he affirm'd to Eurybiades, a King of the Lacedemonians, who then was Admiral. Whom when he found not to be concern'd fo much as he could have wish'd, he fent one of his Servants (in whom he could most confide) to Xerxes by night, to tell him, That bis Enemies were upon their flight; and that if they should now escape, be must expect a long and difficult

difficult War; for then he would be forc'd to purfue them singly; but if he would now Engage them, he might in a short time destroy them all. This stratagem so far prevail'd, that his own Soldiers were compell'd to sight, tho' against their Wills. Whereupon, Xerxes not in the least suspecting the trick which was put upon him, fell upon them the next day in so narrow a Sea that his whole Fleet could not engage; a place very disadvantageous to himself, but on the contrary mighty advantageous to his Enemy: So that he was Conquer'd rather by the Policy of Themistocles, than by the Arms of Greece.

Altho' Xerxes manag'd this Action extremely ill, yet after all, he had so great Reserves, that even with them he might have beaten the Athenians; but for the prefent he was forc'd to retreat. For Themifocles fearing left he should go on with the War, fent him word, that the breaking down of the Bridge which he had built over the Hellespont was then in agitation, to exclude his passage into Asia; and made him believe it. For that Journey which cost him fix Months Travel when he came for Greece, he perform'd the very same way in less than thirty Days at his return; looking upon himfelf not as conquer'd by Themistocles, but preserv'd. Thus by the Policy of one Man, Greece was restor'd to its Liberty, and Asia made subject to Europe. This other Victory was not at all inserior to that at Marathon: For here also at Salamis, after the same manner a sew Ships deseated the greatest Fleet that

has been in the memory of Man.

Great was Themistocles in this War, and as great in Peace. For when the Athenians had only the Phateric, a small and inconvenient Port, by his advice they built a triple Haven at Pyrea, and encompass'd it with fuch Walls that it equall'd the City in Glory, and excell'd it in Usefulness. He also rebuilt the Athenian Walls at his own hazard. For the Lacedamonians having got a plaufible reason, viz. the Incursions of the Barbarians, deny'd that any City ought to be built at Peloponne sus, left their should be any Fortificatious which might harbour their Enemies; and therefore they endeavour'd to put a stop to their Buildings. But their defigns was quite contrary to their pretences: For those two Victories. That at Marathon, and the other at Salamis, made the Athenians fo confiderable all the World over, that the Lacedamonians were afraid they wou'd have contended with them for the Sovereignty; wherefore they used all means to keep them as low as posfibly they could. For after they heard that the Walls were begun, they fent Ambaffadors to Athens to forbid their proceedings.

ings. Whilst they were there they defisted, and told them that they would fend Ambaffadors to treat with them about that affair. This Embaffy Themistocles undertook, and went first himself, ordering the rest of the Ambassadors not to follow till they thought the Walls were high enough. In the mean time all the City, of what condition foever, whether Bond or Free, affisted in the work; neither did they spare any place, whether facred or prophane, publick or private; but took from all Parts what materials would most conduce to the Fortifications. So that their Walls were built with the Ruins of their Temples and Monuments.

Themistocles, when he came to Lacedamon, did not immediately defire Audience of the Magistrates, but spun out the time as long as he could, making this his excuse, that he expected his Collegues. But whilft the Lacedamonians complain that the Works nevertheless went on, and that Themistocles endeavour'd to deceive them, in the interim the rest of the Ambassadors arrive; by whom when he was given to understand, that the Fortifications were almost finish'd, he address'd himself to the Ephori, the chief Magistrates among the Lacedamonians, and told them, That what they heard concerning their Fortifications was falle, wherefore he thought it but reasonable that they should send Some

some persons of Trust and Quality, to whom credit might be given, to enquire into that affair; and in the mean time they might keep him as their Pledge. They granted his request, and accordingly three Ambassadors are fent, Men of great Honour and Repute; on whom Themistocles order'd his Collegues to attend; forewarning them, not to fuffer the Lacedamonian Ambassadors to return till he himself was sent back. When he thought they were arriv'd at Athens, he waited upon the Senate and Magiftracy, and told them very frankly, That by his Advice the Athenians had Wall'd in their Publick, their Tutelar, and Houshold Gods, that they might with the more ease defend them from their Enemies (which thing was justifiable by the Common Law of Nations); neither did they do this with a design to incommode Greece, for their City was as 'twere a Bulwark against the Barbarians, having twice routed the Persian Armada. He told them, That they did not att like just and honest Men, who rather regarded what conduc'd most to their own Greatness, then what might be profitable to all Greece; wherefore if they thought ever to have those Ambassadors return whom they had sent to Athens, they must release him, otherwife they must never expect to receive them again into their own Country.

Yet after all this he could not evade the envy of his Fellow-Citizens. For even

the * fame jealousie which condemn'd Miltiades banish'd Themistocles. After which he went to Argos; where living in much splendor, upon account of his great Endowments, the Lacedamonians sent Ambaffadors to Athens, with this Accusation against him, That he had made a League with the King of Persia to destroy Greece. For which Crime, tho' absent, he was Con-demn'd of Treason. Which thing so soon as he heard of, not thinking himself fafe at Argos, he went to Corcyra; where understanding that the Governors of the City were very fearful lest the Athenians and Lacedamonians should declare War against them upon this account, he fled to Admetus the King of the Molossians, who had formerly entertain'd him. But at his first arrival, not finding the King, that he might be receiv'd by him with the greater Fidelity, he took his Little Daughter and carried her with him into the Sanctuary, a Cuftom which is very Religiously observ'd among the Moloffians; and from thence he would not flir, till the King had given him his Hand, and receiv'd him into his Patronage; which he afterwards faithfully perform'd. For when he was demanded by the Athenians and Lacedamonians, he would

^{*} The Offracism

would not deliver him up, but advis'd him to confult his own fafety; for 'twas not likely that he should be secure in a place so nigh his Enemies. Therefore he Commanded him to be carried to Pydna, and fent a fufficient Guard with him. Whereupon he went a Shipboard incognito, but a great Storm, which then happen'd, drove the Veffel upon the Island Naxus, where at that time the Athenian Army lay. Themistocles thought if they should put in their he must necessarily perish; so that by this ill fortune he was forc'd to discover himfelf to the Master of the Ship, promising great Rewards if he would preserve him-The Mafter commiserating the condition of fo great a Man, kept his Ship at Anchor for a day and a night a good distance from the Island, and would not suffer any Man to go out of it. From whence he fail'd to Ephefus, and there he Landed Themistocles, who afterwards fufficiently rewarded him for his great Service.

I know that many Authors have reported that Themistocles, went into Asia whilst Xerxes was King, but I think Thucydides is rather to be credited, who living about that Age, wrote an History of those times, and was also of the same City; and he says, that he came to Artaxerxes, and wrote him a Letter after this manner: I Themistocles am come unto you; I, who brought so many Calamities

lamities by the Grecians upon your Family, when I was forc'd to make War with your Father to defend my own Country. But I did him greater Services afterwards, when I was fafe and he in danger; for when he would not go back into Afia, after the Battel at Salamis, I fent him word, that it was then in agitation, that the Bridge which he had made over the Hellefpont should be broken down, and that he should be surrounded by his Enemies; by which message be escap'd the danger. But now here I my self am come, banish'd from all Greece, humbly to intreat your Alliance, which if I may but obtain, you shall find me as great a Friend to you, as I have been a dangerous Enemy to your Father. But I would defire a years time to consider of those Affairs, concerning which I intend to treat with you, and when that is expir'd; to permit me to come unto you.

The King admiring the greatness of his Spirit, and being desirous to make such a Man his Friend, granted his Request. All which time he spent in his Studies, and in Learning the Persian Language; in which he became so great a Proficient, that he discours'd the King more Elegantly than any of the Natives could. And when he had made several promises to him, and one especially of that which was most grateful, viz. The destruction of Greece, if he would be pleas'd to follow his Advice. Being highly Rewarded by Arraxerxes, he return'd again.

gain into Asia, and dwelt at Magnesia, which City the King gave to him, using this Expression, That it would keep him in Bread (for the Revenues of that Country amounted to fifty Talentsyearly), Lampsacum would afford him Wine and Myuntes Victuals. There remain'd but two Monuments of him in our time; his Sepulcher, near the Town, in which he was bury'd, and his Statues in the Forum of Magnesia. Concerning whose Death Authors much differ; but Thucydides seems to us to be most authentic, who says, that he dy'd of a Di-sease at Magnesia. Neither does he deny, but there was a report of his voluntarily poisoning himself, when he despair'd of Conquering Greece, as he had promis'd the King. The same Author also says, that his Friends bury'd his Bones in Athens by stealth, because the Laws forbid any one to be there Interr'd who is Condemn'd of Treason. dates, a find that drap a priving great Power

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THEMISTOCIES

LIFE

ARISTIDES

Done into English by Mr. Mitchell, M. A. of Trin. Coll. Oxon.

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Conquering Greece, as he had promed the RISTIDES, the Son of Lysimacus, an Athenian, came so near to Themistocles, that he contested his Pre-eminence; which made them detract from each other's Reputation; and gave a full Example of the great Power which Eloquence has over Innocence: For altho' the Integrity of Aristides was fuch, that (for ought we yet know) He was the only Person whom the World has hitherto thought fit to Entitle The Just ; yet He was fo run down by Themistocles, as to be Condemn'd, by the Ostracism, to Ten years Banishment. Perceiving, that the angry Multitude would not be appeas'd, he yields

yields to the Necessity of his Misfortune. At his going off, he observes one subscribing to his Banishment, and asks him his Reason for it, and what has Aristides done, that he must be punish'd in so severe a manner? The Accuser replies, That indeed he did not know Aristides; but was not satisfied, that He above all Men should so earnestly endeavour at the Name of Just. He did not flay out the whole time of his Banishment; for, within Six years, Xerxes falling into Greece, he was recall'd by an Act of the People. He engag'd in the Sea-Fight at Salamis, which was before his Restauration. He led up the Athenians in the Battel of Platas, wherein Mardonius was flain, and the Perfian Army Routed. I find nothing of his Exploits in Military Affairs, except in this Command; but the Effects of his Sincerity, his Justice, and his Goodness, are not eafily related; particularly, 'twas by his Conduct, that, when He and Paulanias (who was Commander at the Overthrow of Mardonius) were in the same Grecian Fleet, the Dominion of the Seas was transferr'd from the Lacedamonians to the Athenians; the former, before that time, having been Lords both by Sea and Land. The Infolence of Paulanias, and the Justice of Aristides, were the Cause, that most of the Cities of Greece made a Defensive League with the Athenians, and offer'd to fight

fight under them, against the Persians, if their should be occasion. Aristides was the Man pitch'd upon to fettle the Quota of each City, for the Building of Ships and Raising an Army. Twas by His Advice, that Four Hundred and Sixty Talents were every year laid up at Delos; which was appointed to be the place of the Common Treasury; but afterward all the Money was remov'd to Athens. As for his Mode+ ration, there can be no greater proof of it, than that, whereas he had so great Preferments, yet he died fo very poor, that he left scarce enough to defray the Charges of his Burial; fo that after his Death (which was about four years after the Banishment of Themistocles) his Daughters were maintain'd at the Charge of the Public; and at their Marriage, had Fortunes paid them out of the Common Treasure. of the second control of the opening

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PAUSANIAS.

Done into English by Mr. Hoy, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxon.

Was a Great Man, but various in all Conditions of Life; for as he was confpicuous for eminent Virtues, he was no less over-born by the contrary Vices. The Glory of that famous Action at Place is ascrib'd to him. For in that Fight Two Hundred Thousand chosen Foot, and Forty Thousand Horse, were shamefully beat out of Greece by an inconsiderable Handful of Men under his Conduct; and their Lieutenant-General, Mardonius

a Mede, the King's * Brother-in-Law, of fingular Personal Fortitude and Prudence above all the Persians, left dead on the place. Flusht with the Success of this Victory, his Ambition began to be tampering, and he carry'd an Eye upon greater defigns: But in the very beginning he met with this rub in his way; having fent to the Temple of Delphos a Golden Tripod, found amongst the Spoils, with an Epigram infcrib'd on it, to this effect, That by His Conduct the Barbarians were cut off at Platæa. and in Acknowledgment of the Victory that Pre-Sent by Him Dedicated to Apollo. The Lacedamonians caus'd the Verses to be Raz'd out, and in their flead Engrav'd only the Names of those Confederate Cities as had been instrumental in defeating the Persians.

After this, Pausanias was again intrusted with a Common Fleet of the Associates for Cyprus and the Hellespont, to dismantle the Garrisons of the Barbarians in those parts. In which Adventure meeting with the like success, he began again to behave himself more insolently, and aim'd at greater things than ever. For in the Sack of Byzantium taking many of the Persian Nobility, and among them some of the

Blood

^{*} So Gener is also used by Justin, and in this place cannot be meant otherwise, because his Lady was Xerxes's Sister.

Blood Royal, he remitted them privately to Xerxes, and sent with them Gongylus an Eratrian, with Letters to the King (as Thucydides delivers) in these words; Pau-Sanias the Spartan General, understanding that Some taken at Byzantium were nearly related to you, has made you a Present of them, and withal desires to Contract an Alliance with you. Wherefore, if you approve of the Proposals, he Jues for your Daughter in Marriage, on Condition that by his means both Sparta and the rest of Greece be put into your Hands. If you think these things worth your Consideration, send an approved Minister, to whom things may be communicated more particularly. The King extreamly well fatisfied at the fafety of fo many Personages so near to himself, immediately dispatch'd away Artabazus to Pausanias with this Answer, That he applauded the Design, and desired nothing should be omitted which might be serviceable to it; pro-mising, in case it took effect, he would never meet a Repulse in any thing he would sue for. Pausanias being inform'd of the King's pleafure, grew to forward in the Bufinels, that he incurr'd the Suspition of the Lacedamonians, who remanded him Home; where he was question'd for his Life, but the Allegations charg'd upon him amounting to no more than High Misdemeanours, he was only Fin'd, and discharg'd from returning to the Navy.

Yet, not long after, of his own head he went back to the Army, where he follow'd fuch indifcreet and rash Practices as confirm'd what hitherto had only been suspected of him. He laid aside not only the severer Moralities of his own Country, but their Fashions and Drefs. He appeared in Pompand Splendour like a Foreign King; and came into publick in the Median Habit. His Person was guarded by a Retinue of Medes and Egyptians; his Entertainments were after the Persian manner, with greater Luxury than his Friends thought allowable; he was hard of Access; he answered proudly, and commanded cruelly. In fine, he refus'd to return to Sparta, but withdrew to Getona, a place in the Country of Troas, where he engag'd in Measures destructive to his Country and The Lacedamonians being cer-Himfelf. tified of this, fent Deputies to him with the * Scytala, in which after their manner it was specified, That unless he immediately return'd home they would pass a Bill of Attainder against him. Upon the receipt of this News he went home, hoping to disperse the Clouds which hung over him, by the Power of his Money and Interest there. But the Ephori secured him immediately, in the Name and Behalf of the

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^{*}A fort of Tally, by which the General was inform'd of their Will. Describ'd by Plutarch in the Life of Lysander.

Community. For by the Constitution of that Government this Power over the Prince is repos'd in the hands of any one of the Ephori. However, in some time he got rid of that Grievance, but could no fo eafily remove the Suspition he lay under; for it was still mistrusted he dealt underhand with the King. There are a fort of People among the Lacedamonians, they call Helotes, who are imploy'd in manuring the Lands. and performing all other Offices of Slaves; These also it was thought he had endeayour'd to debauch to his Defigns with hopes of Liberty. But the Evidence against him being meerly Circumstantial, they deferr'd proceeding against a Person of his Name and Quality upon Surmises and Presumptions, till time should make a fuller Discovery.

While these things were in agitation, Argilius (a young man whom Pausanias had formerly desiled to satisfie his unnatural Love) being sent by him with a Pacquet to Artabazus, a suspition ran in his head, that there was somewhat in it nearly concern'd himself; because he had observ'd, that none who went thither on the like Errand had ever returned back. Upon this, breaking up the Seals, he sound that on the delivery of the Letters he was to have been made away; besides many things relating to the transactions then on Foot between the King and Pausanias; all which,

with the Letters themselves, he immediately communicated to the Ephori. But here the wariness and moderation of the Lacedamonians is not to be pass'd by, who fuffer'd not themselves to be wrought upon, even by fuch proof, to take Paulanias into Custody; but forbore to use any rigour towards him, till such time as his own Ver-bal Evidence should be produc'd against himself; and accordingly they gave Inftructions to the Discoverer how to manage this Affair. Now there was a Temple of Neptune at Tanaris, which the Greeks held inviolable; hither the Discoverer was to fly for Sanctuary, and kneel down before the Altar; near this they had contriv'd a place under ground, from whence any one might hear what was discours'd to Argilius; where feveral of the Ephori had privately posted themselves. Pausanias, as soon as he heard that Argilius was fled to the Temple, haftning after him in great diffurbance, found him on his Knees before the Altar; and enquiring into the occasion of that fudden Motion, he open'd to him the Contents of the Letters. At this Paulanias's Diffurbance increas'd fo far, that he entreated him not to discover or betray one who had formerly deferv'd fo well of him; promising for the future, if he would gratifie him fo far, and be affifting to him under the present Distress, he should find it of very great Advantage to him. I have

The Ephori, after this Discovery, concluding it fafer to apprehend him in the City, returned thither. And Paufanias having, as he thought, made up the bufiness with Argilius, was arriv'd on the place where it was ordered he should be feiz'd; when he perceiv'd a Defign out against him, from the looks of one of the Ephori, who had a defire to advertise him of it. By this means he got into the Temple of Minerun, call'd' * Chalciacus, a little before his Pursuers; But to hinder his Escape thence, the Ephor; caus'd the Gates to be block'd up, and threw down the Roof upon his Head, that he might have the fpeedier Death: His Mother is reported to have been living at that time; and, altho' then of very great Age, when fatisfied of the Treafonable Practices of her Son, to have brought the first Stone in order to block up the entrance into the Temple. Thus Paufanias fully'd the Glory of a Great Gneral by an Ignominious Death. Being taken out of the Rubbish half dead, he immediately expir'd. And tho' fome were for disposing the Body as was usual to fuch as had been Executed, yet the majority were against it; so he was bury'd far from the place where he dy'd. However afterwards, by the Advice of the Delphic Oracle, he was took up again, and Interr'd where he ended his Life.

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^{*} Said fays, from her Brazen-Temple.

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PLUSANIAS.

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CIMON.

Done into English by Mr. Creed, M. A. of Corpus-Christi Coll. Oxon.

to note one of both bearing

an Athenian, was very unfortunate in his Youth; for his Father not being able to pay his Fine to the People, and dying a Prisoner of the State, Cimon was Committed to the same Confinement; Nor by the Laws of Athens could he be Releas'd till he had paid the Multi impos'd on his Father. But he had Espoused his own Sister Espinice, not so much to gratise his Affection as to sollow the Mode of his Country; for 'twas common with the Athenians to marry their own Sisters. One Callias (a Man of a fair Estate,

Estate, but of a mean Extraction and Parentage; for out of the Silver Mines he raised his Fortune and Wealth) being his Rival, made this Proposal to Cimon, that if he would yield to a Divorce and Resignation of her to him, he then would pay his Debts. But when Cimon generously scorn'd to part with his Wife and Sister on such Base and Mercenary Conditions, She (out of Assection and Charity to him) declar'd, That she could not suffer the Son of the Great Militades to be perpetually Damn'd to a Prison, when it lay in her power to procure his Enlargement. Therefore she resolved to marry Callias, provided he perform'd his part of the Covenant.

Cimon having thus obtain'd his Liberty, foon became a Chief Minister of State. For he was a great Master of Rhetoric, a very Generous Person, an admirable Civilian. and an expert Soldier; for his Father gave him his Youthful Education in a Campaign. Therefore he kept the Citizens in awe and fubjection; and in the Army he was almost Absolute. When he was first a Commander, at the River Strymon, he routed a vaft Body of the Thracians. He built the Town of Amphipolis, and planted there a Colony of ten thousand Natives of Athens. At Mycale he also Triumph'd over the Captive Cyprian and Phanician Navy, confifting of Two Hundred Sail. Neither were his En-

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terprizes by Land that day less fignal than his Victory by Sea; for having made himfelf Master of his Adversaries Fleet, he Landed his Soldiers, and at one onfet gave a total Overthrow to the Barbarian Army. Having enrich'd himself with the Booty of this Conquest, he returned homewards. For now fome Islands had Rebelled, under the pretence of Tyranny and Arbitrary Government. Those whom he found Loyal, he confirm'd in their Principles; those who had traiterously Revolted, he compelled to their Duty and Allegiance. He Banished the Delopes from the City and Island of Scyrus (the present Inhabitants thereof) because their Behaviour was flubborn and obstinate; and divided their Estates among the new adopted Denisons. At his arrival, he defeated the Thasii, who trusted in the Fortress and Sanchary of their Riches. With the Spoils and Ornaments taken in these Wars the South-fide of the Cattle at Athens was beautified.

When this his prosperous Management of Affairs should have Entitled him to the greatest Name and Reputation in the City, he had the Fate to be Envied, as his Father was, and other Athenian Worthies; for by the majority of Votes inscribed in Shells (which they called Ostracism) he was condemned to a Ten Years Exile. For which unnatural usage the Athenians sooner express'd repentance

tance than Cimon his forrow. For when with a generous and undaunted Fortitude he bore the Envy of the ungrateful Citizens; and the Lacedemonians had proclaim'd War against the Athenians, They immediately perceiv'd the want of fo much Experienc'd Valour and Conduct. Therefore after five Years Banishmenthe was Restored-He (because he had been courteously entertain'd by the Lacedamonians) * esteeming it the Interest of both Cities, the Difference should be Compos'd, without the Decision of the Sword, voluntarily went Ambassador to Eacedamon, and by his successful Negotiation re-instated the two great Rival Cities in Peace and Amity. Not long after he was Commission'd to go into Cyprus with 200 Ships; and when he had subdued the greater part of the Island, he fell mortally Sick, and Died in the Town Citium.

For many years afterwards the Arbenians (both in times of War and Peace) found the want of their Patriot. For he was to free and generous a Gentleman, that the had feveral Farms and Gardens in his own Possession, yet he never substituted Bailists with a Design that they should preserve the Fruits for him, lest any Man, that desired them, might be deprived of him

Satis_

The Nemeguen Edition of Corn. Nepos, is in this place follow'd, all the other Impressions of this Author, having omitted a material sentence.

Satisfaction and Enjoyment. His Footmen were always furnished with ready Money, that he might be provided on all occasions to relieve the Necessities of the Indigent, lest the Delay of his Charity might be mis-construed a Denial. If he saw any Man that had the misfortune to be in a beggerly Habit, he frequently bestowed on him his own Coat. He kept fo conftant a Table, and fuch plenty of Provision, that he daily invited all those to Dinner (who were not pre-engag'd) that he met in the public places of Affembly. He never refus'd to be any one's Surety; nor denied them his Affiftance, or the use of his Goods. Several grew Rich on his Bounty and Benevolence. Many poor Wretches, who left not enough behind them to pay for their Burial, he Interred at his own Charges. Therefore tis no wonder, if by this his Carriage and Behaviour, his Life was free from Danger and Detraction, and his Death untimely and Lamented. the wint of their Francisc in this and generous a Centleman, that

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LIFE

OF

LYSANDER.

Done into English by Mr. Kirchevall, M. A. of Corpus-Christi Coll. Oxon.

left a great Name behind him; which he rather acquir'd by the Kindness of Fortune than by any Valiant Enterprize. It is clear indeed, that he gave the Athenians a signal Defeat, in the twenty-sixth year of their War with the Peloponesian State; * but then we are not ignorant how He gain'd that Victory; for it was never procur'd by the prowess of his

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^{*} The vulgar Editions read, idque ratione confecutus fit later, but others are of opinion, that the original Copy had, non later, which last we follow, as most agreeable to the Author's design.

own Army, but thro' the unruly behaviour of his Enemies; who, thro' their disobedience to their Commander's Orders and by leaving their Shipsunmann'd, and being diforderly fcatter'd up and down the Fields, came at length into the power of Lylander's Forces. Thus the Athenians yielded themselves Vassals to the Lacedamonian Yoke. Lysander, tho always Seditious before, and a flour Stickler in Factions, yet being puff'd up with this late Success, he now took for much upon him, that by his means the Lacedamonians were render'd extreamly odious to Greece. For, whereas they had given it out, that the only motive of their War, was to take down the too powerful Dominion of Athens; Lysander, after having made himself Master of the Athenian Fleet. which rode on the River Egos, made it his whole bufiness to keep every City under his own Jurisdiction; all the while pretending he did it purely by the incitement of the Basedamonians. For they who had favour'd the Atheniaus proceedings being turn'd out of Office every where, he felected Ten out of every City, who were to be entrufted with the Soveraign fway and power of all things; none being received into the numher of thefe, but who would either enter: himself a Member of his Family, or elsewould take this Test, That he would be wholly Lyfander's Creatures were bed and lines media Da 4 me sigo sides Thus

Thus the Decemvirate being establish'd in every City, all things were carried on as he pleas'd. For an example of whose Cruelty and Treachery, it is enough to produce a fingle inflance, that we may not tire the Reader's patience, by reckoning up more of his base Actions. When he return'd Conqueror out of Asia, and had vifited Thas by the way, he greatly defir'd. to demolish that City, only for its furpassing fidelity to the Athenians; as if the Thasians would now prove their sirmest Friends and Allies, who heretofore had been their never-failing Enemies. But he forefaw, if he had discover'd his intention herein, that the Revolt of the Thasians would necessarily have ensu'd, and that they would have stood upon their own. guard, in defence of their Lives and For-

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ent Lig Therefore that Decemviral Power, *
which he himself had erelted only for his own
ends, the contrary party pull'd down
whereat being grievously vex'd and enrag'd,
he contriv'd and plotted how to depose the
Lacedamonian Kings. But he found he could
never compass this design without the
Affistance of the Gods; for the Lacedamonians had always accustom'd themselves, to

triviale and hurseur the Oracular

^{*} Sibi ab illo conflitutam fuffulerunt.

bring every thing to their Oracles determination. His first Attempt was to seduce: that of Delphi; but failing there, he ventur'd next upon the Oracle of Dodona; and meeting with a repulse here, then he nois'd it abroad, that he was under an Obligation of paying some Vows to Jupiter Am-mon; thinking to tamper with the Africans at an easier rate. After his arrival into Africa, being buoyed up with these alluring hopes, he found his Expectations mightily frustrated by Jupiter's Priests. For to wheedle 'em into the acceptance of a Bribe, was not only a thing unfeafible, but it also made 'em dispatch away their Deputies to Lacedamon, to accuse Lysander of Subornation. Being impeach'd of this Misdemeanour, he was acquitted by his Judges; and afterward being fent to relieve the Orchomenians, he was flain at Hetrue a Judgment had been past upon him, that Speech discovers to us, which was found in his House after his Death; in which he endeavours to perswade the Lasedemonians, that after they had null'd the Power of their Kings, they would fingle him out for their General to carry on the War. Now this was penn'd with so much Art, that its whole frame and composure feem'd to fute and humour the Oracular way of Expression and delivery; the procurement

curement of which he never question'd, relying upon the strength of his Purse. Clean of Hallicarnassus is the reputed Author of this Copy, and here we must not pass by the cunning contrivance of Pharnabazus, a Persian Lieutenant of a Royal Extraction. For when Lysander, Admiral of the Navy, had been guilty of many cruel and covetous miscarriages in the War, and was sufpitious, that his Fellow-Citizens had notice of 'em already; he made his request to Pharnabazus, that he would hear him witness before the Ephori, with what Sincerity he had manag'd the War, and treated the Allies; and because his Authority and Patronage would be very ferviceable to him herein, he farther requested an accurate description of his Integrity in writing. Pharnabazus after his large promises, fill'd a great Book with many high Expressions in his Commendation; which after Ly ander had perus'd and approv'd, in the very nick of its Sealing, Pharnabazus slily puts down another ready Seal'd in its place, of a fize fo uniform and fo equal to the other, that no eye could perceive the difference; in which was drawn up a very full Impeachment of Lyfander's Avarice and Perfidioufness. After his return home, and after his Harangue before the Chief Magiftrate, as much as he thought fit, upon his own Exploits; at last he produc'd PharPharnabazus's Book and Gift, as an Authentick Evidence of his unblemish'd Carriage and Deportment. Lysander being order'd to withdraw, the Ephori employ'd the interval of his absence in the perusal of this Manuscript, and after full cognizance of its design and purport, they delivered it him to read. So this inconsiderate man at the same time read his own Indistment and prov'd it.

"Ferginessus," that he'would hear him witends before the Folget, with what seemy be and treated the Allies round freenals as the chartenined from conservated by very fervicerels to being sevein, he la ther requested an accirno defor rion of his lacerity in waitings Phara billi religionar species of safe we recen creat Book with want high Expressions in his Confinenciation; which, after Lylurder and perus de and approved, in the very sich of its Sealing, Phoenicated lilly pats cown another ready Seal'd in its place, of a fire to uniform and to equal to the others that THE the to Table Average and to their whiels. After his return hones, and after his Harangue cefore the Chief Magifirste, as much as he thought fit, upon his own Exploits; at last be produced - TENT

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ALCIBIADES.

Done into English by Mr. Peers, M. A. of Christ-Church Coll. Oxon. and Superior Beadle of Physick and Arts.

A LEIBIADES was the Son of Clinias, an Athenian. Nature seems in the production of this Man, to have exerted the utmost Abilities of her Skill and Power; all Authors, who have written concerning him, agreeing in this, That such a mixture of the most eminent Virtues and Vices was never found in any other person, as in Alcibiades. The Greatness and Splendour both of his City add Parentage, Ennobl'd his Birth: And as for the Gifts of Nature and Personal Qualifications, he not only excell'd all his Co-

Cotemporaries in Beauty and Comliness of Body, but had likewife a Mind fo richly and variously endow'd, that he apply'd himself to all matters (whether of Business or Pleasure) with unparallel'd dexterity. Accordingly we find, that he acquitted himself as an excellent Commander both by Sea and Land; and was likewife for thorowly accomplish'd in the whole Art of Oratory, that he gain'd the precedence of all others, as well for a powerful Eloquence as a graceful Elocution. Atho' he was exceeding wealthy, yet could he, when the exigence of Affairs required, endure the feverest toil and hardship; no Man living at other times with greater state and affluence, either in what related to his Table, or in his usual Attendance and Equipage. He was moreover extraordinary courteous and affable in his Conversation; and obferv d to be Master of an exquisite Art of Diffimulation and Compliance with all Perfons and Occasions. Lastly, as often as he had a Release from public Business, and some respite allow'd from labour and intention of Mind, he gave himself entirely over to Lust and Luxury, being Diffolute and Intemperate to fuch a degree, that. those who reflected upon the other Scenes of his Life, were ftruck with Admiration at the wonderful diffimilitude and inconfiftencies of Nature in the fame Person; no man

man being found to differ more from Alcibiades than Alcibiades himself.

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He had his Education in the House of Pericles, his Step-father (for fo he is recorded to have been); but for his Learning he was oblig'd to the Care and Instructions of Socrates. So that marrying moreover the Daughter of Hipponicus (the * wealthieft Person thorowout all the Grecian Countries) if he had been to have made his own Choice he could not have pitch'd upon greater Advantages and Endowments, than had been freely conferr'd upon him by Nature and Fortune. In his greener years he was Belov'd after the manner of the Grecians, and that by feveral; in the number of whom was his Master Socrates, as we are inform'd by Plato in his + Symposium, where he introduces Alcibiades relating, that he lay last night with Socrates, and rose from him in the morning no other than a Son

^{*} Divers Copies have it Omnium Graca Lingua Eloquent is defertissimum: but this seems not very consistent with the high Commendation given already
to Alcibiades upon the score of Eloquence; and
therefore the other Lection [omnium Gracorum ditissimum] may be thought more genuine; especially
since it is collaterally supported by the authority of
Plutarch, who only mentions the extraordinary
Riches and high Quality of Hipponicus.

[†] A Book so call'd because it contains Tablediscourse and entertainment.

ought to do from his own Father. When he came to maturity of Age, he as industripoully prosecuted the same kind of Love towards others, wherein he proceeded as far as the * Laws were thought to allow; doing many offensive and distasteful things, in the way of humour and f frolick, throughout the course of his amorous Intrigues; divers of which might be related by us, were we not provided of greater matters, and more sit to be transmitted to Posterity.

In the time of the Peloponnesian War, his Advice and Authority prevail'd with the Athenians, to break with the People of Syracuse; and Rig out a Fleet against them. For which Expedition Alcibiades himself was also chosen supreme Commander; two Collegues being join'd in Commission with him, Nicias and Lamachus. But before all Necessaries were provided, and the Navy in a condition to put to Sea, it happen'd one Night, that all the Statues of Mercury thorow

Assertation

^{*} The ancient Grecian Laws are observed to have been too favourable and indulgent to that unnatural kind of Love.

[†] Some of them may be seen in Plutareb; particularly his taking away half the Cup-board Plate of his Paramour Anytus; who resented it so little, that he only said he was obliged to him for taking but half.

from out the City (* except that which flood before the Door of Andocides, and had from him its usual denomination) were overturn'd, and thrown down from their Pedestals. Upon this unusual accident a strange consternation seiz'd the minds of the People; † for they consider'd, that the Sacrilegious Fast had a publick aspest and tendency, and therefore that it must have been committed by no small number of Persons; which made them apprehensive of an Associated Force within the City, able of a sudden to oppress their Liberty, and ensure the Commonwealth.

No Man was thought more capable of Heading such a Party than Alcibiades, he having already attain'd to a greater Power and Sway than usually was, or safely might

of good was before its

^{*} This circumstance was perhaps taken notice of by our Author, because as (Plutareb tells us) Andocides was thereupon not only suspected of having had a principle hand in the Action, but committed to Goal and prosecuted for the same, Sec.

[†] One of the Evidences being ask'd, how he discern'd the Faces of those he accus'd; reply'd, by the Moon-light, and tho' it was answered, that that could not be, because it was then the Dark of the Moon, yet had not this the least influence upon the slupidly prejudic'd Multitude. Plut.

might be, in the hands of any * fingle perfon ; ho extraordinary was his influence and authority among the common People; many of whom he had won by his frequent Largeffes, and many more by his Patronage and Affiftance in Law-Suits and + Profecutions. By which Arts he was become to popular that the Eyes of the Multitude were (with a difregard to the reft of the Nobility) continually fixt upon him whenever he appeard in Publick; fo that for this reason to be look'd upon as the principal object of the Athenian Hopes and Fears; all Men efteeming him equally capable of promoting the Welfare and Ruin of his Country. Befides this, he lay under the fcandal of holding Religious Conventicles in his House; which thing in it self was accounted a Crime of the highest nature among the Athenians; it being moreoverthe general opinion, that fuch | Meetings were not

Light Author

† When a Catalogue of Criminals was brought into Court, he would usually strike out the names of such as he had a defire should not be prosecuted.

^{*} Privatus cannot be here applied in the strict and common acceptation of the word to Alcibiades, he being apparently no private person in that sence; because the Athenians, had themselves advanc'd him to a high station among the principal Magistrates of their Commonwealth.

Is there any thing (fays Solomon) of which it may be faid, fee this is new? it hath bin already of old time which was before us.

not really intended for Devotion, but carrying on of Plots and Conspiracies against the State.

An Indictment was * therefore broughe against him in open Court; but he consideting, that the time of his departure upon the Sicilian Expedition drew near, and reflecting upon the usual proceedings of his Country-men against absent Criminals. made it his request, to be presently brought to a Trial, and not to be exposed at a distance to the craft and malice of his Enemies. But these, on the contrary, perceiving that they should not otherwise prevail against him, desisted from prosecuting till such time as they concluded him arriv'd in Sicily; for then they renew d the accufation with fo much vigour and artifice, that he was presently recall'd by the Magistracy, being order'd to appear, and put in his Plea and Defence. Whereupon he readily obeying the publick Summons, and (altho' he had the fairest hopes of having the Administration of his Province Crown'd with Honour and Success) going on board the Gally which was fent to convey him to Athens, Landed at the City of Thurii in Italy.

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^{*} For breaking down the Statues of Mercury, tho'
Plutarch tells us, his accusation ran for having celebrated in a profane and ludicrous manner the Mysteries of Ceres and Proferpine.

But here, his Prudence prevailing over his Resolution, he began to consider the boundless Power with which the Athenian Populace affum'd to themselves, and the Cruelty with which upon fuch occasions they ever treated the Nobility; and therefore judging it more adviseable to withdraw from the impending storm, he made his e-scape from those who had the custody of him, and fled at first into the Country of Elis, and afterwards to the City of Thebes; tho' it was not long e're he remov'd from thence to Lacedemon; word being brought, that Judgment of Death was pass'd upon him, and that his Estate was confiscated to the Common-wealth; besides (as was ufual in fuch cases) the Sentence of Excommunication denounc'd against him (the Priests * Eumolpida being thereunto compell'd by the Multitude), and a Pillar erected in the most publick Place, with an Infcription engraven thereon to perpetuate

Arriv'd (as is aforefaid) at Lacedamon, he frequently protested, that he had no hostile intention against his Native Country; but only against such Men as were equally Enemies to It and Him; for, being sufficiently

^{*} The Successors of Eumolpus, the Son of the Poet Musaus, in that facred Office.

fufficiently fentible how much his service contributed to the profperity of the States they had nevertheless thrust him into Exile; as evidently preferring their own private revenge before the publick welfare However, it was not long e're by his advice the Lacedamonians contracted an Alliance with the Persian King, and ferongly fortified Decelia in Attica; by the Garrison of which place the City of Athens was reduc'd into much the same condition as if it had been block'd up by a formal Siege; fo that the Country of Ionia being also by his endeavours won over from the interest of the Athenians, the Lacedamonian Arms began in all places to prevail and be victorious.

Yet did not these their Successes so much encrease their Love, as awaken their Fears, and alienate their Affections from him; for confidering him to be a person of the acutest parts, and most experienc'd prudence in all manner of Affairs, and fearing withall, left prevail'd upon by the dictates of an inbred tenderness for his Native Soil, he should one time or other desert their Service, and purchase a Reconciliation with his offended Country; they judg'd it expedient, e're this should happen, to have him privately affafinated. This defign could not long be conceal'd from Alsibiades, he being a person of so wonderful a Sagacity, that it was impossible for any thing to escape

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Tcape his knowledge; especially when the Teast surmise or suspition had rais'd his Jea-Touse, and quicken'd his Observation. Withdrawing therefore privately from Laredamon, he fled to Tiffiphernes (one of King Darius Lieutenants) with whom altho he was e're long admitted into the Arithest Bonds of Friendship, yet being much troubled at the rifing Greatness of the Lacedamonians, and the languishing condition into which the Anhenian Affairs were fall'n by their Loffes in Sicily; he contriv'd, by special Messengers, to treat with his oFellow-Citizen Pisander (Prætor, or Commander in Chief over the Army at Samos) concerning his Pardon and Re-admission into his Country; Pifander's concurring with him in an Aversion for the Commonalty, wand an equal favour for the Nobles, incouraging him thereunto. And altho' he quickly found himself dssappointed in his expectations from this Man, yet was he Sometime after receiv'd by Thrasybulus, the Son of Lycus, into the Athenian Army, which lay at Samos, and made a principal Officer in the same; nor was it long e're, affifted by the influencing fuffrage of Theramenes, he obtain'd a publick Act of Reth Mitution and Indemnity, and was join'd in equal Commission with him and the forefaid Thrasybulus. es on pulicy for

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Under the Command and Conduct of these three Generals the Face of Affairs in a little time appear'd wonderfully alter'd; nay, it was not long e're the Lacedamonians. whose Arms had hitherto been every where triumphant, found themselves oblig'd to become humble Supplicants for Peace; and that not without good reason, having been beaten in five Land-Fights, and two Engagements at Sea; in which Engagements their Enemies are recorded to have taken no fewer than two hundred of their Trireme-Gallies, Add to these Successes of the Athenians, the Recovery of Ionia and Helle-Spont, with many Grecian Towns seated upon the Coast of Asia. In the number of those Cities that were forceably subdued was Byzantium; there being divers others which were won over to an Alliance, by the Politic Clemency with which all places were treated by them, as they happen'd to be fucceffively Conquer'd.

After these great Atchievements the three Generals returned to Athens, bringing back an Enrich'd and Victorious Army; the same being equally Laden with Spoil and Glory. But as soon as they were enter'd into the Harbour of the * Piraeum, the City

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^{*} It lay at a confiderable distance from the City; to which it was join'd by a strong Wall. See the life. Themistocles.

being in a manner deferted by its Inhabitants, fo great was the Confluence about Alcibiadts's Gally, that the fight and reception of him alone feem'd to have drawn forth the gazing and transported Multitude; who at this time firmly believ'd, that the present happy and late Calamitous Conditions of their Affairs were both entirely owing to him; yet blanning themselves for the loss of Sivily, and the Victorious Exploits of the Lacedamonians, fince the fame were wholly to be imputed to the Expulfion of fo brave a Man out of their Commonwealth. Nor indeed was this an ill-grounded Opinion, feeing that from the very time of his Re-admission into Command, their Enemies could never prove an equal Match for them either by Sea or Land.

No somer was he come on shore, but (without the least Notice taken of Theramenes and Thrasibulus, who Landed at the same time, and had a joint interest with him in the late Atchievments) the whole Body of the People crowded up towards Aicibiades; many of them presenting him, according to their different Abilities, with Coronets of Gold or Brass; an Honour never done before, but to such as were Victors in the Olympic Games. Calling to mind his forepast Sufferings, he could not abstain from Tears as he received these kind Testimonies of Reconciliation from his Fellow-

low-Citizens; and as foon as he came into the City, a folemn Affembly being held, he made so passionate a Speech to them, that he forc'd the natural expressions of Sorrow in equal abundance from the Eyes of all that heard him; those even of the most unrelenting temper among them lamenting his hard usage, and declaring themselves utter Enemies to such as had procured his Banishment; So that any Man who had been a stranger to their Affairs, would certainly have concluded, that fome other People, and not the very fame Perfons by whom he was now furrounded, had pass'd the former severe Sentence, and Condemn'd him of Sacrilege. Hereupon his Estate, which had been Conficated, was Restored to him by Public Edict; the Priests Eumolpida being also Commanded to take off his Excommunication, and the Pillars on which the same had been engraven, to be thrown into the Sea.

These obliging Smiles of kindest Fortune were of no considerable duration to Alcibiades; for when the highest Honours had by solemn Decree been conferr'd upon him, the Conduct and Management of all Affairs, both Civil and Military, being put into his hands, and Thrasybulus and Adimentus at his request assign'd him for Collegues, passing over with a Fleet into Asia, and Fight-

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ing unfuccessfully at * Cuma, he fell again into the Displeasure of the Populace. The reason hereof was, that they universally believ'd him able to accomplish what soever he took in hand; fo that every ill Success was imputed to his Negligence or Treachery; to the latter of which they attributed the unprosperous Attempt made upon Cuma; none of them doubting, but that he could have taken the Place, had he not been corrupted to the betraying of his Trust by the Persian King. Indeed the principal cause of the feveral Calamities that befel him, feems to have been the extravagant Opinion that all Men had conceiv'd 'of his Valour and Prudence; from whence fprung the two different Passions of Love and Fear; and from whence at length it came to be generally dreaded, left puff'd up with his great Successes, and supported by as great Riche, he should grasp at the Soveraignty, and endeavour the Enflaving of their Free State.

These were the Considerations that induced them to pass a Vote for depriving him, tho' absent, of his high Office, and

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^{*}Yet are we told by others, that the most fatal miscarriage in this Expedition happen'd upon the Coast of Ionia; where Antiochus (a hor-headed Vice-Admiral) in Aleibiades's absence, and contrary to his express command, engaging the Lacedamonian Fleet, was soundly beaten by the same.

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substituting another in his place; the news whereof being brought to Alcibiades, he judg'd it not expedient to return home, and therefore paffing * over to Perinthus, he compleatly fortified the three ftrong Holds of Bornos, Bisanthe, and Macronteichos; and from thence marching with a fufficient Body of Men, he feems to have been the first Grecian that made an Inrode into the Countries of Thrace; and this he did, being unwilling to infest any part of Greece; and judging it more honourable, to enrich himself with the Spoils of the + Barbarians; by which means he not only made great Acquifitions in Wealth and Reputation, but obtain'd of certain Thracian | Kings, to be admitted into their Friendship and Alliance.

But by no kind of Fortune could Alcibiles's Soul be divested of a tender Affection for his Native Country; and this he sufficiently manifested about this time, by the

* With certain Forces rais'd and maintain'd at his own charge. Plut.

† This word has been a long while us'd to fignify favage, illiterate and unciviliz'd; but was at first apply'd by the haughty Grecians (as a term of diffinction) to all Nations what soever that spoke not their Language.

|| His incursions and depredations being (as we are inform'd by Plutarch) made upon a fort of free People, and such as were subject to no King.

Advice given to Philocles, Commander in Chief over the Athenian Fleet in the River Agos; Lysander the Lacedamonian Admiral lying at no great diffance from him, and defiring by all means to prolong the War, because he knew that the Athenians had nothing left besides their Weapons and Gallies (their public Exchequer being quite exhausted,) and that the Forces of his own Country at the same time were supported and maintain'd by a conftant supply of Money from the Persian King. Neither were these things conceal'd from Alcibiades, who therefore coming to the Athenian Army, spoke publicly in the hearing of the common Soldiers to this effect, That if they pleas'd to accept of his Service, he made no doubt of forcing Lysander, with his whole Fleet, to come to the decision of a Battle, or else to make submissive Overtures of Peace. That the Lacedamonians were indeed unwilling to run the bazard of a Sea-fight, because their main Strength and confidence lay in their Land-Forces; but that he could eafily prevail with Seuthes, the Thracian King, to drive them from Land, and that then they would be necessitated, either to come to fair terms of Accomodation with the Athenians, or venture all upon the doubtful issue of an Engagement at Sea.

This Advice, as it was not really dislik'd, fo neither was it embrac'd by Philocles; who well knew, that if Alcibiades were

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admitted to a conjunction with him, he himself should be but an empty Cipher in the whole Action; and let the Event prove profperous or otherwise, that on the one hand, he should have no share in the Glory; and on the other, no Partner in the Difcredit and Ignominy of such an Undertaking. Alcibiades therefore, finding that his Counsel was not accepted, told Philocles at his departure, that he would only leave this fhort caution with him, To ly as near the Enemy as might convenintly be with his Naval Camp; and to take care, left by the licentiousness and loose Discipline of his Soldiers, the Lacedamonians thould have an opportunity put into their hands of furprizing his Fleet, and ruining the whole Army. Nor did the event prove this a groundless apprehension; for shortly after, Lyfander being inform'd by his Scouts, that the main of the Athenian Forces were gone afhore, and were eagerly employ'd in haraffing and plundering the Country (their Ships in the mean time being left almost empty and defenceless,) by one brisk and fudden Attack gave their Navy a * total EK

^{*} Conon escap'd only with eight Gallies out of about two hundred (if we believe Plutaroh) tho' our Author in the Life of Conon mentions it as a great unhappiness to the Athenians, that he was absent at the time of that Engagement. However

this was, certain it is, that the Athenians, were hereupon little less then absolutely Conquer'd, Ly-sander shorly after taking the City of Athens it self, and putting the Government thereof into the hands of thirty special Magistrates of his own choice and appointment.

Overthrow, and put an unexpected period to the War.

After this fatal blow receiv'd by the Athenians, Alcibiades judging it unsafe for him to make any longer ftay in those parts, withdrew into the more inward Regions of Thrace, lying above the Propontis; not doubting but in fuch a place his Fortune and Quality might eafily be kept undifcover'd. But it was not long e're he found that he was mistaken; for a Body of Thracians, who had information of his great Wealth, placing themselves in Ambuscade, furpriz'd and plunder'd all his Carriages; wherefore, having himself narrowly e-scap'd out of their hands, and considering that (by reason of the great Power and Authority of the Lacedamonians) no part of Greece could afford him a fafe Retreat, he fled into Asia to Pharnabazus, who was prefently fo taken with his courteous Deportment and obliging Address, that the first place in this great Man's Favour feem'd to be given to Alcibiades; who shortly after receiv'd from him, as a special testimony of Affection, the Fortress of Grunium in Phrygia;

gia; the Castellany whereof yielded him no

less than fifty Talents yearly Income.

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But this plentiful Fortune brought no real Contentment to Alcibiades; of which his Mind was absolutely uncapable, so long as the Athenian continued in Subjection to the Lacedamenian State. The whole bent of his Soul was therefore towards the delivering of his Country from that Inglorious Yoke and Bondage. But this he forefaw could not be effected without the Affistance of the Persian King, whose Amity was therefore to be procur'd in the first place; and of that he affur'd himself, if he might but obtain free access to his Person. having fecret notice of the * War intended against the King by his Brother Cyrus, with the affistance of the Lacedamonians; he question'd not, but by discovering this Confederacy, he should purchase to himself the highest degree of Favour and Affection.

While Alcibiades was contriving how to put this design in execution (having already requested of Pharnabazus, that he might be admitted into the presence of the King,)

Critias

^{*}Our Author does not term it a Rebellion or Conspiracy, because Gyrus was no Liege subject to Artaxerxes, their Father Darius (as we are told by Justin) having by Will given the former the absolute Soveraignty of those Territories over which he had before presided as his Lieutenant.

Critias and the rest of the Athenian * Tyrants dispatch'd certain Messengers into Asia, by whom they gave Lysander to understand, that the Articles agreed upon between Him and the Athenians must be Ratissed by being Seal'd with the Blood of Alcibiades; and that the Death of that Man was to be pursu'd by him, as he tender'd the Estabishment and Perpetuity of his own Exploits and Constitutions. Lysander was so far wrought upon by this positive † Message, that he resolv'd

of advice from the Thirty to Lyfander, their Interest and His being embark'd in the same bottom; and they (as may be collected from Plutarch) beginning now to be apprehensive of no small danger from Alcibiades, whom they perceiv'd (tho' in exile) to be in a fair way of recovering his former esteem and

and authority with the common People.

^{*} He means the thirty Magistrates set over the Athenians by Lyfander, and call'd by them. Tyrants; a name originally not only of innocent but most honourable signification, being us'd simply for a King, or supreme Governor, and apply'd by the Grecian Poets even to Jupiter, and the rest of their kindest and best respected Gods: But by a Republican Abuse of the word brought to connote the greatest cruelty and oppression; tho' the truth is, if a Man would be acquainted with Tyrants and Tyranny in that sence, (in which indeed the words have long ago universally obtain'd) he may most probably find them where thirty or forty, or perhaps rather (as some Nations have sadly experienc'd) three or four hundred Persons, are (by what means soever) possessed of the Soversign Power.

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refolv'd to deal effectually with Pharnabazus and therefore fent him express word, that the Alliance between his King and the Lacedamonians should be Null and Void, unless he took care that Alcibiades, either alive or dead, were deliver'd into their hands; wherefore the Persian Governour (preferring his Mafter's Interest before all the Laws of Humanity and Friendship) immediately employ'd Susamithres and Bagoas to furprize and murther him, as he lay in Phrygia, and was * providing for his Journey to the King. These Affasinsarriv'd accordingly with great fpeed and expedition at the place of his abode; and not daring openly to affault him, they fet Fire on the House wherein he lay; as hoping to accomplish by Stratagem what their Courage despair'd of effecting. And yet had they like to have been disappointed in their expectation; for Alcibiades being rouzed by the crackling of the Fire, and missing his Sword (which it feems had been privily conveyed away) he-

^{*}Others say, that Pharnabazus being inform'd of Cyrns's design by Alcibiades (who had in vain desir'd by his means to have admission to Artaxerses, and was therefore about giving notice of the same to another of the King's Lieutenants) resolv'd to have him cut off, that so the merit of the discovery might be wholly his own.

he took the Dagger of his * Friend and Companion (a certain Arcadian that Lodged with him, and could never be induc'd to defert him in his lowest condition,) and bidding him follow after, pass'd boldly thorow the Flames; the violence whereof was fomewhat abated by the throwing in of fuch Clothes and Houshold-stuff as came next to hand. But before he could make his escape, and get quite off, he was overtaken and flain by the † Darted Weapons of the distant Affasins; by whom his Head being carry'd away as a welcome Present to Pharnabazus, an affectionate | Female (the constant sharer both of his good and bad Fortune) took the Body, and wrapping it in her own Vestment, committed it to the Flames; the same Fire that had in vain been kindl'd for his Destruction when alive, being now converted to the kinder uses of a Funeral Pile.

Thus dy'd Alcibiades, about the Fortieth year of his Age; a person of whom

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^{*}Tho' our Author terms him hofpes and familiaris (which last word may indeed be taken to signify a menial servant) yet by what follows (viz. quinunquam discedere voluerat) he should seem before this time to have worn off those inferiour and distant relations.

[†] He was slain with Darts and Arrows, says Plut. || Timandra; suppos'd by many to be the Mother of Lais, the famous Corinthian Courtezan. Plut.

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we find but a fcurvy Character given by the generality of Writers; yet has he obtain'd the highest commendations from three very grave and authentic Historians; Thucydides, his Cotemporary; Theopompus, a somewhat more modern Author; and Timaus: The two latter of which were persons of the most censorious humour, and observ'd (by I know not what strange Fate) to have concurr'd in the Praises of no other man but Alcibiades. For even by them are the fame advantageous particulars deliver'd concerning him, which are already related by us, and to which may moreover be added, from the same Writers, That being born in Athens, a City for State and Grandear Second to none, he out-went the Noblest of his Fellow-Citizens in Splendour and Magnificence of Life: And yet when driven from hence he arriv'd at Thebes, he so far comply'd with the Genius of that People (the Bæotians in general employing their time in acquiring a Robust Habit of Body, and not improving the Faculties of the Mind) that he excell'd them all as well in strangth and firmness of Limbs, as in chearfully undergoing the most toilsom Labour. When he came among the Lacedæmonians, who account it the highest pitch of Virtue to endure such kind of hardship, he so readily accommodated himself to their penurious way of Living, that in a little time he had not his Equal for Abstinence and Parsimony, either in

Garb or Diet. After this, dwelling among the Thracians, a People generally adicted to the Enjoyments of Love and Wine; even here had be also the Precedence allow'd him beyond Competition: And coming at length into Persia, where Labour and Industry in Hunting, and Luxury and Excess in Feeding are of greatest Reputation, he acquitted himself to the admiration of all Men. So that wheresoever he came, he got the general Love and Respect of the People; being presently accounted the most Accomplish'd Person for such Qualifications as were in every Country of highest Estimation. But enough of this Man; let us now proceed to give an account of others.

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THRASTBULUS.

Done into English by Mr. Gilman, M. A. of Magdalen Coll. Oxon.

HRASTBULUS, the Son of Lycus, and by Birth an Athenian, was a Person whom I should not flick to place in the front of all the Grecian Worthies, if his Fortune had been any way answerable to his Without doubt he outshone them all in Fidelity, Resolution, Greatness of Soul, and an inviolable Affection for his Country. And altho' many boafted themfelves born of more Antient Families, yet none outstripp'd him in any other Accomplishment of a Great Man-Whoever Rescues his Native Country from the Oppression of one Tyrant, does so Brave an Action,

Action, that many Men have Attempted, but few have had the Honour of Atchieving; yet was it this Man's good Fortune, to Free His, groaning under the intolerable Burthen of Thirty at once. His Valour was first fledg'd in the Peloponnesian War; where being in a Joint-Commission, he did many great Exploits without Alcibiades, tho' Alcibiades did nothing without Him; all his Actions expressing an ardent defire to promote the Good of the Commonwealth. But in pitch'd Battels the Strength and Number of Forces is as much to be rely'd on as the most excellent Conduct; and the private Soldier juftly claims a share in the Glory of the Action with the Commander. Besides, Fortune sometimes lets them know, that Success depends neither upon one nor the other; but is folely at her disposal. Wherefore, the most Glorious of all Actions Thrasybulus may justly claim to be properly his own; For when Athens was miferably harafs'd and torn by the Arbitary Proceedings of those Thirty Burgomasters, set up (as it were a Council of State) by the Lacedamonians, during whose uncontrolable sway, many of the Eminent Citizens were kill'd, some (preferv'd by Fate from the danger of the War) were banish'd, and many others had their Effates confiscated and divided amongft the Ufurpers: He only (not as a General, but) fingly Proclaim'd open War against them; and when he fled to Phyle (the strongest and best fortified Castle in in Attica) he had fcarce Thirty Confederates. So weak were the Foundations of the Defign by which the Liberty of that Illustrious City was afferted. He was not despicable for his Person and Parts; but was contemn'd for his inconfiderable Party; which at last prov'd of great consequence to him; as the accomplishing his Defign for the Relief of his Country, and the utter and final Ruin of it's Enemies. For they, lull'd in their own fecurity, neglected a speedy and vigorous prosecution; and consequently gave him a longer time to make himself more considerable both for Men and Money. Whence is evinc'd the truth of that common Axiom, In War no Advantage is to be flipt; and is not without reason said, The Mother of a Coward need never Fear. Yet all this while Thrasybulus's Supplies and Affiftances bore no proportion to his Expectations. For even in those days men were more lavish of their Words than Actions; and more hotly disputed their Liberty with their Tongues than their Swords. From Phyle he march'd to Pyraum, and fortifies Munichia; which place his Enemies twice attempting to take by Storm, in two general Affaults, were as often

ten beat back with confiderable Damage, and at last forc'd to retire into Athens with the loss of all their Arms and Baggage. Thrasybulus in the mean time manages his Affair with as great Wisdom as Courage, and commands that Quarter should be given to all those who would accept it; faying, it was but reasonable, that Fellow-Citizens should spare one another. Neither indeed was there any person hurt afterwards but those who continued in a posture of Hostility. He suffer'd none to be stript of their Clothes; nor touch'd a part of the Plunder, only Arms (for which he had urgent occasion) and Victuals. In this fecond Conflict fell Critics, the primier Burgomaster, after he had fought valiantly. Critias being flain, Pausanias, King of the Lacedaminians, comes to the Affistance of the Athenians; and at length concludes a Peace between both Parties on these Terms: First, That no Citizen (except the Thirty Tyrants, and the Ten Pretors, who exactly Copied those Originals of Cruelty in their Actions) should suffer Banishment. Secondly, That no Person's Estate should be Sequefter'd. And Thirdly, That Demoeracy should be Re-establish'd, and the Soveraign Power remain in the Hands of the People. One more remarkably great Action of his we must by no means forget; When Peace was settled, and he bore a great

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great fway in the City, he Enacted a Law. That no man should be accused, or any way punish'd, for any thing that was past. This was afterwards call'd An Act of Oblivion. But not fatisfied with the bear Enacting of fuch a Law, he took a mighty care in the just and first Execution of it; and check'd fome of the Partakers of his mifery in Banishment, who would have made havock of those Men they had so lately receiv'd into Favour. For these great and illustrious Actions, Thrasybulus was Honour'd by the People with a Coronet made of Olivebranches; a mean Reward indeed, but attended with these Advantages, that it was in no manner extorted, but a voluntary and hearty Testimony of the Peoples Affection; and was therefore an Honour, free from the Detractions of Envy or Emulation. For as Pittacus (a man justly register'd in the Catalogue of the Seven Wifemen of Greece) well observ'd to the Mityleneans, when they would have given him many thousand Acres of Land for a Reward; Don't ye, fays he, give me so Noble a Present, that many will Envy, and more will Covet; I will only accept of an hundred Acres, which is Sufficient to shew your Good Will, and my own Modesty. Great Favours are often snatcht away, whilst little ones, below Envy, are longer enjoy'd. Thrafybulus therefore, highly pleas'd with this petty Crown, fought

fought no other Satisfaction; but look'd upon himself to be as much Honour'd as any of his Cotemporaries. In process of time, going Admiral to Cilicia, and his Soldiers being very remiss when they were upon their Guard, he was in a Sally supprized in his Tent, and slain by the Barbarians.

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Done into English by Mr. Jenefar of Magdalen College, Oxon.

Great in the Esteem of the Commonwealth at the Peloponnessan War; where his Conduct was signally Heroick. For he was CaptainGeneral of the Land-Forces, and Admiral at Sea; and perform'd noble Atchivements; which made him the Darling of the People, who Constituted him Governor of all their Islands; in which Commission the took Phara, a Colony of the Lacedamonians. He was also Captain-General in the last Peloponnessan War, when the Flower o

the Athenian Army was destroy'd by Lysander at the River Agos. But Conon was not in Person at that Battel; from whence may be concluded the Missortune of that satal Day. For he weigh'd every Military Action; and was even jealous in acquitting himself like a General. Which makes it highly probable, that his Personal Valour and Conduct might have diverted that Mas-

facre of the Athenians.

Yet in this fad destraction, when he heard the groans of his Country, he confulted not his own Safety and Retirement, but the Relief of his disconsolate Countrymen. He hastned therefore to Pharnabazus, Lieutenant of Ionia and Lydia, who was Son-in-Law to the King; into whose Fayour he infinuated himfelf, tho' not without great intrigue and hazard. For when the Lacedamonians (Athens lying gasping) had broke their League, which they had made with Artaxerxes, and had fent Agefilms with an Army into Asia (where he was often Caress'd by Tissaphennes, who was formerly the Familiar of the King, but had revolted from all the Endearments of his Prince, and combin'd with the Lacedamonians); Pharnabazus march'd against him as General, tho' in reality Conon was Chief, and his Warlike Judgment controll'd the whole Council. He stopt the carier of Ageste laus, that so much renown'd Captain, and conconfounded all his Stratagems; and 'twas the wife Conduct of Conon which prevented Agefilaus from renting that part of Asia on this side Taurus from the Persian Empire. Agesilaus being remanded home by the Lacedamonians, who were embroil'd in a War with the Baotians and Athenians; Conon took that opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Persian Nobility; and soon became their

only Oracle.

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At this time the Malecontent Tiffaphernes had quitted the Court, of which the King was only incredulous; fo great a share had Tissaphernes in the Royal Favour, tho' in this very time of his distoyal Villany. Neither is it strange, that the King was un-willing to mistrust this his Creature, when he call'd to mind, that by his Prowess he quell'd his Brother Cyrus. Therefore Conon was fent by Pharnabazus to Accuse Tiffaphernes before the King; who being arriv'd. according to the Cuftom of the Persians, he came to Tithraustes, a Tribune and principal Officer of State, requesting that he might be introduc'd; without which ceremony none are admitted. To whom Tithraustes said, there should be no delay; but (faid he) you must consult whether it were better to have an Audience, or to fignifie your Business by Letter; for if you come into the Royal presence, you must fall down before the King; which they call

* Divine Homage: But if you cannot comply with this, trust me to interceed for you, and you shall certainly attain your defire. Then Conon reply'd, I could very chearfully pay any Honour to the King, but I fear left it should be a dishonourable blemish to my Country, if I should profitute my self to the Slavery of a Barbarian, who came from that People who by Nature are accustom'd to Govern. He therefore deliver'd his Business in a Letter; which being made known to the King, he was so taken with his Commanding Deportment, that he proclaim'd Tissaphernes a Traitor, commission'd Conon to Fight the Lacedamonians, and to elect whom he pleas'd to raife Money for the War. Which choice Conon modestly deny'd to be in his Province, but in the King's, who best understood the Condition of his People; yet that it was his humble Advice, that he would confer that Office on Pharnabazus. After this, being honourd with great Prefents, he was commission d to Sea, that he might convey the Galleys to the Cyprians, Phonicians, with the other Port-Towns; and that he should Rig a Navy, to fecure the Seas the following Summer; in which Commission Pharnabazus was his Collegue,

^{*} Graci vocant mposkurer venerabunde falutare.

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Collegue, as he had petition'd. So foon as the Lacedamonians heard this, they afted with great judiciousness, because they forefaw a more dangerous War, than if they had been engag'd only against the petulant Persian. For they were now to grapple with a bold and wary General, intrufted with the whole Persian Power ; against a whom their Stratagems of War were as river diculously vain as their Strength With this resolution they contract a formidable Navy, and fet Sail under Pisander; whom Conon affaulted at the River Cnidus, and after a desperate Fight routed; many Ships he took, and many he funk; by which Victory not only Athens, but all Greece was freed from the Yoke of the Lacedamonians. Conon with part of the Navy return'd to his own Country, was very folicitous in rebuilding the Walls of Athens, with the Haven Pyraeum, which were demolish'd by Lysandar; and gave his Fellow-Citizens Fifty Talents, which he had receiv'd of Pharnabazus.

Yet it happen'd to this Great Man as to the Ignoble Pesantry, who was more improvident in the smoother than in the rugged part of his Life; for having vanquish'd the Peloponesian Squadrons, and satisfied the revengeful thirst of his Country, he aim'd at higher things than his Policy could possibly reach; all which Attempts were Pious

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and Honourable, in as much as he preferr d the welfare of Athens before the King's. For when he had acquir'd a splended Eminency by the Sea-Fight at Cnidus, he began flily to whifper among the Persians and all the Cities of Greece, that Ionia and Aolis Thould be furrendred to the Athenians. But this design taking vent, Teribazus Lieutenant of Saradis, inveigled Conon to come to him, pretending to fend him to the King upon an Embaffy of great importance. Conon obey'd the Meffage; and as foon as he arriv'd, was fecur'd in Fetters, which he bore for some time. Others write, that he was brought to the King, and dy'd there. Yet Dinon the Historian, in whom we most confide, in Persian Story informs us, that he escap'd; and seems only to doubt, whether it were by the design or inadvertency of Teribazus.

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DION.

Done into English by Mr. Clarke, M. A. and Fellow of All-Souls Coll. Oxon.

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Hipparinus, descended from a Noble Family, and was of Kin to both Dionysius's, the Tyrants. For the Elder of them married his Sister Aristomache; by whom he had two Sons, Hipparinus and Nysaus; and as many Daughters, Sophrosyne and Areta. Sophrosyne he gave to his Son and Successor Dionysius, and Areta was allotted to be Dion's Wife; who, besides his Noble Relations, and the Reputation deriv'd to him from his Ancestors, was oblig'd to Nature for many rare Endowments; among F 3 which,

which, an * Aptness to Learn, a - Courteous Behaviour, and a Disposition to brave Actions, were conspicuous: Nor was he less happy in a comly and graceful Presence. Besides, his Father left him a vast Estate, which was encreas'd by the * Gifts of the Tyrant. He had a great intimacy with Dionysius the Father, to which his Personal Merits were as infrumental as his Affinity; for tho' he lik'd not Dyonifius's Cruelty, yet he endeavour'd his Safety, upon account of their Alliance, but chiefly with respect to his own Relations. He was confulted with in matters of the greatest con-cern; and the Tyrant was very much fway'd by his Advice, unless in those things where the prevalence of his own Affections over-rul'd. All Embaffies of note were perform'd by him; in which his Civility, together with his faithful and diligent Administration of Affairs, took off from that Imputation of Cruelty, which Dionysius generally lay under. The Carthaginians, to whom he was fent by the Tyrant, honour'd him highly, infomuch that they never had any Grecian in more Admiration. Neither

* Plato says the same in the 7th Epistle.

* The Treasurers had orders to give him whatever he defired. Plut.

[†] Contradicted by Plutarch in his Life, and Plato in his 4th Epifle, at the end.

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was Dionysius ignorant of these things, nor unsensible how great an Ornament he was to him; from whence it came to pass, that Dion was most in his Favour, and lov'd by him as a Son. So that when 'twas reported in Sicily, that Plato was come to Tarentum, he did not only give the young Man (who had a great defire to be one of his Hearers) leave to invite him thither; but after the grant, brought him in great state to Syracuse. For him Dion had so great a love and veneration, that he wholly yielded himself to his disposal; which was anfwer'd by Plato, who took no less delight in him. For altho' he was cruelly mifus'd by the Tyrant, who gave order he should be fold for a Slave; yet at Dion's request he had leave to return. In the mean time Dionysius fell fick; * and his Distemper en-eresin g upon him, Dion went to the Phyfitians, to enquire how he did; and withal entreated them to let him know, if his Life were in great danger, because he intended to discourse him about dividing the Kingdom; part of it, in his opinion, being due to those Sons his Sister had by him. This Enquiry, the Physitians did not conceal, but carried it to Diomy fius the Younger; who was fo much con-F 4

^{*} He surfeited at a Feast which He made for joy he was declared Victor in Poetry. Diod. Sicul. lib. 15.

cern'd, that to prevent any conference between Dion and his Father, he forc'd the Physitians to give the latter a sleeping Potion; which the old man took, and slept his last.

Such was the beginning of the quarrel between Dionysius and Dion; which many things afterwards fomented. However, for fome time there remain'd an appearance of Friendship; so that Dion being urgent with him, to fend for Plato from Athens, and make use of his Counsel; he comply'd with his defire, that in fomething he might be like his Father, and at the fame time brought * Philistus the Historian back to Syracuse, a Man who was equally a Friend to the Tyrant and his Tyranny. But of this I have faid more in my Book of the Greek Historians. As for Plato, his Eloquence and Authority so much influenc'd Dyonisius, that by his perswasion he was resolv'd to restore the Syracusians their Liberties, and put an end to the Tyranny; but being deterr'd by Phylistus from executing his intention he became more Cruel than before. Finding therefore, that Dion had the advantage of him in Parts, in Authority, and the Love of the People, he fear'd their flaying together might be an occasion

^{*} Plato calls him Philifti des. Epift. 3.

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of his own Ruin; upon which he gave him a Gally to transport him to Corintly telling him withal, that what he did was for both their fakes; left out of the mutual fear which was between them, one might be apt to supplant the other. This Action was highly refented by many, and drew great envy upon the Tyrant; who, to make the World believe, that he did it not out of hatred to the Man, but meerly for his own fecurity, Shipp'd off all his Moveables and fent them to him. But * afterwords, when he heard that Dion was raising Forces. in Peloponnefus, with defign, if he were able, to fall upon him, he married his Wife Areta to fanother; and order'd his * Sons Education in fuch manner, that by giving him his swing he might be tainted with all forts of Vices. For while he was yet a Boy. they brought him Whores, and fo ply'd him with Wine and Feafts, that he never had leifure to be Sober. Infomuch, that when his Father return'd, and fet G vernors over him, to reclaim him from hi former way of living; he, not able to endure fuch a change in his course of Life, FS threw

^{*} Plutarch fays, that the Marriage of Areta to Timocrates was before Dion's Preparations for War.

[†] Timocrates.

* Hipparinus, or Hipparion, or as Timous lays,

threw himself from the top of the House, But to return; After Dion was come to

Corinth, and Heractides, General of the Horfe, * driven away by the same Dionyfius, fled thither also; they haften'd their preparations for War, with all Diligence, yet made but small progress; for few adventur'd to run the same risk they did, because a Tyranny of so many years continuance, was by every one efteem'd very formidable. But Dion, who more rely'd on the ill will that all People bore the Tyrant, than the strength of his own Forces, with only two Merchant-Ships, undauntedly went + against a Government which had flood for Fifty years, guarded with five hundred long Ships, ten thousand Horse, and an hundred thousand Foot; and to the aftonishment of the World, so easily overran it, that within three days of his landing in Sicily he enter'd Syracufe it felf. From whence it is evident, That no Empire is Safe which is not Guarded by Love. At that time Dionysius was in Italy, expecting the Fleet; and did not imagine, that any of his Enemies

* Syracuse was taken the 48th year of the Ty-

^{*} Being suspected to be the Cause that the Veterans mutiny'd, when Dionysius was about to lessen their pay. Plato, Epist. 7.

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mies durst venture upon him without confiderable Forces. In which he was miftaken; for Dion, with those very men which were under his Adversary's dominion, abated the Tyrant's Arrogance; and made himself Master of all that part of Sicily which was in Subjection to Dionysus, as he did of Syracuse likewise, except the Citadel, and the Island adjoining to the Town. Whereupon the matter was brought to that pass, that the Tyrant was contented to make Peace on the following Articles: That Dion should have Sicily, Dionysius possess Italy, and Syracuse be in the hands of Appollocrates, a man in whom Dionysius repos'd the greatest trust. But this unexpected prosperity was attended with a fudden change; Fortune by her fickleness attempting to ruine him, whom just before she had exalted. The first token of her malice, she thew'd in his Son, whom I mention'd before; for having brought back his Wife, who was given to another, and being defirous to refcue his Son from the Debauchery in which he had been bred, and reduce him to his former Sobriety, he receiv'd a grievous blow by the Death of his Child. The next misfortune wasthe Diffention between him and Heraclides; who made a Faction, rather than he would yield the priority to Dion, and had as much interest among the Nobility as he; for by their confent he

commanded the Naval Forces, at the fame time when the other did those at Land. This Dion could not brook; and repeated those Verses in the second Iliad of Homer, to this purpose, That a State cannot be well order'd, where the Government is in the hands of many. The Saying rais'd him much envy. for by it he seem'd to discover an intention. of getting all into his own power; which opinion he endeavour'd not to leffen by complaifance, but suppress by rigor; and caus'd Heraclides, when he came to Syracuse, to be kill'd. An Action which struck every body with fear; no Man thinking himself safe, now Heraclides was thus taken out of the way. But Dion, being rid of his Adversary, with more licence diffributed the Estates of the contrary Party among his Soldiers. After which division, by reafon of the greatness of his daily expences, he quickly began to want Money, which he knew no way to be fupply d with but by fiezing his Friends Poffessions; upon which it happen'd, that the gaining the Soldier prov'd the loss of the Nobili-ty. These things he took very much to heart; and being unaccustom'd to be ill spoken of, could not endure to be in difrepute with those who a little before had prais'd him to the Skies. For the Rabble perceiving the Soldiers were offended with him, fpoke more openly, and often reproacht

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him with intolerable Tyranny. As Dion was in this perplexity, not being able to appeale their Commotions, and was afraid of the consequence; * Callicrates an Athenian, one that accompanied him from Peloponne fus to Sicily, a cunning fraudulent Fellow, without any Sense of Religion or Honesty, came to him, and told him the danger he was in, by reason of the disgust of the People, and hatred of the Soldiers; which, without employing one of his Friends to feign himfelf his Enemy, 'twas impossible to avoid; but if he found one fit for this Affair, he might eafily know their defigns, and ruin his Adversaries, who would certainly declare their intentions to one that feem'd at variance with him. The Advice being approv'd, Calliorates took upon himself to put it in execution; and being advantag'd by Dion's unwariness, sought for Affociates to kill him, had Meetings with his Enemies, and confirm'd the Confpiracy. But many being privy to the bufiness, it was divulg'd, and brought to Aristomache, Dion's Sifter, and Areta his Wife; who in a fright ran with the news to him, for whose Safety they were so much concern d. He affured them, that Callicrates meant him no harm; and what he did, was by his me to the down the set of

^{*} Callippus. Plut.

order. However, the Woman not satisfied with this, got Callicrates to Proserpine's Temple; and forc'd him to * fware, that Dian should receive no mischief from him. Which Religious Act was so far from maling him quit his design, that 'twas a means to haften the execution; he fearing the Plot might be discover'd before it had taken effect. Being thus refolv'd, the next + Festival-Day, when Dion was laid down privately at home in an upper Chamber, he put the strongest places of the City into the hands of the Conspirators; and having furrounded the House with Soldiers, commanded some of them not to stir from the Doors And that he might not be destitute of means to escape, if Fortune should prove cross to his Designs, he furnished a Galley with Men and Arms; and order'd his Brother Philocrates, who commanded it, to keep it moving in the Port, as if he only intended the exercise of the Rowers. Besides,

day they maved their Childrens Heads; (and Sacrificed to Her) one of the Ceremonies us'd at the Enrollment of their Children in their Tribes, which was done at this time. Suid. and Plut.

Plutarch tells us, the manner of his taking this Oath: After tome Holy Rites, he had the Goddeffes Purple Robe thrown over him, with a burning Torch put in his Hand, and so fortwore what he was accused of. It was called open peras, or the Great Oath, of which there were teveral torts.

he chose some Zacynthians of his own Family, ftrong daring Fellows, and i them go to Dion unarm'd, that fo it might feem they came only to pay him a Visit. Their familiarity in the Family immediately gain'd them admittance into his Chamber; where, as foon as they were enter'd, they fastened the Doors, fell upon him in his Bed, and bound him; which was not done so filently, but the noise was heard without. Hence it is evident, as I have often faid before, how odious a thing the Government of a fingle Person is; and how miserable a Life they lead, who had rather be the object of their Subject's Fear than Love. For his very Guards, had they bore him any kindness, might have broke open the Doors, and fav'd his Life; the Conspirators being forc'd for want of Arms to keep him alive 'till they could procure a Weapon of those who were out of the Chamber. But no body coming to his rescue, one Lyco a Syracusian, reach'd them a Sword thro' the Window, with which they dispatch'd him. The Multitude after his Death came to look upon him, and not knowing the Murderers, kill'd feveral whom they suspected of the fact. For it being nois'd that Dion was flain, many who diflik'd the action ran thither, and upon a false surmise kill'd the Innocent instead of the Guilty. As soon as his Death was publicly known, 'twas ftrange

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trange to fee how the Peoples minds were thang'd; for they who in his Life-time afforded him no better name than a Tyrant, now call'd him the Expeller of the Tyrant, and Deliverer of his Country; and so suddenly was Hatred succeeded by Compassion, that if it had been possible, they would have redeem'd his Life at the expense of their own. Wherefore by public Order he was buried in the most Honourable place of the City, and by the same had a Tomb erected. He died in the Five and Fistieth Year of his Age, and the fourth after his return from Peloponnessus into Sicily.

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LIFE

OF

IPHICRATES.

Done into English by Mr. Allam, M. A. of St. Eamund-Hall, Oxon.

PHICRATES, the Athenian, became famous to Pofferity, rather by his accurate Skill in the Art of War, than the Gallantry of any Noble Atchievements. For he was fo perfectly furnish'd with all the necessary accomplishments requisite to compleat a General, that he not only attain'd the Excellencies of his most eminent Cotemporaries, but might justly dispute Pre-eminence with the Chief of former Ages. He was to very well experienc'd in Martial Affairs, that being often entrusted with the Command of entire Armies, he never was defeated by any failure or default of his own; and what Victory

Victory foever he obtain'd, it appear'd principally to be owing to his Prudence and Conduct. So great was his Judgment in all things relating to War, that he both advanc'd Military Discipline by additional Rules to a far greater perfection than it ever had before his time; and improv'd those few fcattered ones he met with to the best advantage. He also made most commodious and beneficial alterations in the Arms of the Infantry; for whereas before his time broad unweildy Shields, fhort Spears, and little Swords were only in use, he chang'd the first of them into a lighter Target, made fomewhat in shape of an Half-Moon, call'd Pelta, from whence the Foot afterwards receiv'd the name Peltasta; and by this more portable Buckler, he did not only expedite their Marches, but made them capable of receiving their Enemies onsets with greater readiness and activity. As for the Sword, he augmented its length, but doubled that of the Spear; changing moreover their Breaft Armour from Iron and Brass to those made of Linnen; which render'd his Soldiers fitter for Action; and by thus leffening their weight he at once provided for their eafe and fecurity too. He was engag'd in a War with the Thracians, and restored Seuthes, an Ally of the Athenians, to his Kingdom. At Corineh he kept the Army to fo ffrist Discipline, that there were in no part of Greece

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Greece to be found better Train'd Forces; or any who with fo great readiness received and perform'd the Commands of a General, even in the most minute particulars; for by his pains and industry they grew fo expert in all Military Orders and Postures, that as foon as ever he had but once given the Word of Command, they would immediately form themselves into as regular a Figure, as if the most skilful Commander had rank'd each private Soldier in his particular place. With this Army he intercepted a felect Party of the Lacedamonian Horse; which Action was very much extoll'd throughout all Greece. In the fame War he gave their whole Strength a fecond total Defeat; which also procur'd him a large stock of Honour. Artaxerxes purpofing to fight the King of Egypt, made it his request to the Athenians, that they would grant him Iphicrates, whom he defign'd as Commander in Chief over his Mercenary Forces, the fame amounting to the number of twelve thousand men; and having obtain'd his defire, he instructed them so fully and exactly in the whole Art of War, that as formerly the best Roman Soldiers were diffinguish'd from the meaner fort by bearing the name of their Leader Fabius; fo the Grecians had those under the Command of Iphicrates in the highest esteem. When he went to affift the Lacedamonians, he

he foon put a stop to the Attempts of Epaminendas; for had he not haften'd his March, the Thebans would not have rais'd the Siege of Sparta, till they had laid it waste in Ashes, and utter ruin. The greatness of his Spirit bore an equal proportion with that of his Body; his Presence being very Majestic and Commanding, did so clearly bespeak him what he really was, that his bare look of it felf was fufficient to firike all Beholders with an Admiration of his Person. Theopompus has recorded, that he was remifs in matters which requir'd continu'd Labour, and that he could not well brook the hardships of War; yet he had still the character of a good Citizen given him, and was always reputed a Man of a fleddy and untainted Fidelity; of which, as on feveral other occasions he gave most undeniable proofs, so he did in a more peculiar manner fignalize it by protecting the diffress'd Orphans of Amyntas the Macedonian. For Euridice the Mother of Perdiccas and Philip, upon her Husband's death, presently fled with her two Fatherless Children to Aphicrates for fuccour and patromage; who being rich, generously afferted their just Rights against all kinds of wrong and oppression. He died old, in the Love and Favour of his Fellow-Citizens; tho' their Affections had been for some time adienated from him; for he and Timotheus, were

were forc'd to make their public Defence in the Affociated War, and he was acquitted by those who were constituted his Judges. He left behind him a Son call'd Menestheus, whom he had by a Thracian Woman, Daughter to King Cotus; who being asked, which he lov'd best, his Father or Mother? Reply'd, bis Mother. And when all the Company wondered at the feeming strangeness of the Answer, he told them, That he did not return that Answer, but upon very good reasons; For my Father, saith he, by Marrying a Barbarian us'd his utmost endeavours that I should be one also; but my Mother did as much as in her lay to make me the Son of an Athenian.

HABRIAS was an Alberta. And sond the Sugar Day and and Sugar -moor resters treated to supplie Istaya b ariahag bire a mabumina

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LIFE

OF

CHABRIAS.

Done into English by Mr. Kennett, of St. Edmund-Hall Oxon.

one that bore a Name in the Catalogue of their greatest Commanders; and perform'd several Exploits that very well deserve the Recording. Among which, there ought more especially to be remark'd, that Stratagem which he made use of at Thebes, when he came to affist the Bæotians: For in that Engagement Agesilaus, the Lacedamonian General, being very consident of obtaining the Victory, and having made so great a step toward it, as the putting to slight all the Mercenary Forces of the Adverse Party; Chabrias

Chabrias procur'd the other Troops to keep their station, while by his own example of kneeling down upon his Buckler, and hold-ing out his Spear or Pike aslaunt, he taught them in that manner to expect the onfet of the Enemy. Agestlaus being surpriz'd at fo unwonted a fight, durst make no farther attempt upon them, but immediately founded a Retreat, and thereby fummon'd his Soldiers to fall back, when they were just ready to have made the affault. This contrivance was so much applauded throughout all Greece, that Chabrias order'd himself to be drawn in that defensive posture in the Statue which was erected for him in the Forum of Athens, at the public charge of that City. And from hence it commenced a Custom, that ever after all Gladiators, and other Fencers, were wont to have their Statues carv'd to the same posture wherein they had got their respective Victories. But to return, Chabrias wag'd feveral Wars in Europe, while he was commission'd a General of the Athenians; and behav'd himself bravely in Egypt, when he serv'd as a private Voluntier. Going to the help of Nettanebus, he got him settled in his Kingdom. He came off with as good fuccels at Cyprus; tho' there indeed he was publicly appointed by the Athenians as a Collegue with Evagoras; nor did he dispatch from brell sloffw shi benbeut bad shi lit soned bur see Cities, I hat Envy is always

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and from the happy management of this Enterprize, the Athenians purchas'd themfelves a vaft Credit. In the mean while arose a War between the Persians and Egyptians; the Athenians enter'd into a League with Artaxerxes King of Persia, and the Lacedamonians fided with the Egyptians; of whom Agefilaus, King of Lacedamon, made a very confiderable advantage. Chabrias taking notice of this, and thinking himself no way inferiour to Agesilaus, frankly offer'd his Service to the affiftance of the Egyptians; and was made Admiral of their Fleet, Agesilaus being Commander of their Infantry. Upon this, the Captains who were employ'd by the King of Persia, difpatch'd Messengers to Athens, to complain that Chabrias took part with the Egyptians in a War against their Master. The Athenians hereupon fix'd a day, by which time if Chabrias returned not, they threatned he should forteit his Life, for disobeying the Summons. Chabrias at this news comes back to Athens; yet staid there no longer than was necessary to avoid the penalty which was otherwise denounc'd against him. For he was not fond of residing among his own Country-men; having liv'd so splendidly, and far'd so high, that he could not but raise the Envy of the Rabble. For this indeed is a common Fault in Great and Free Cities, That Envy is always faftened

fasten'd upon Glory; and most Persons are extream forward in detracting from those who are promoted to be their Superiors. And, what is ordinary to observe, the Poor cannot, without regret at their own harder Fate, cast an Eye upon the more ample Fortunes of the Rich. Chabrias upon these Considerations was as much abroad as his Affairs could dispense with. And herein he was not fingular, in his caution of flaying little at home in Athens; for almost all their eminent men took the same course: thinking themselves so far remov'd from Envy as they were distant from their own Native Country. Conon for this reason liv'd the most part in Cyprus, Iphicrates in Thrace, Timotheus in Lesbus, and Chares in Sigeum. This Chares, it is true, was different from the rest hoth in Temper and Action; yet he was a Person of Great Honour and Wealth at Athens. But finally, Chabrias came thus to his end, in the Social War; The Athenians laid Siege to Chium, Chabrias was in the Navy only as a Reformade, yet he had greater Authority than any who were in places of Command; the Common Soldiers paying more respect to him than to any of their Officers, which prov'd the occasion of hastning his Death: For whilst he was Ambitious of making the first Entrance into the Harbour, and accordingly had directed the Pilot to fleer in, this Adventure coft

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in none of the other Vessels would follow; whereupon, being surrounded with the Attacks of the Enemy, he fought couragiously, till the Ship sprung a Leak, by some damage toward the Head, and began to sink under him. Hereupon, being unable to make any escape; for if he had thrown himself overhoard, the Athenians would have took him up as he swum; he therefore chose rather to dye in his station, than to lay down his Arms and quit the Ship. None of the other Sea-men would run the same hazard, but leap'd out, and escap'd safe to shore; while Chabrias, preferring an honourable Death before an ignoble and slavish Life, sighting hand to hand upon the Deck, was at last killed on the place.

reft hoth in Lemper and Altion; yether was a Ferfon of Great Elembert and the calth at Armer. But finally Chabrias and the tours to his end, in the acutal War at the call was a later with the call of the content of the Content who were use of Content of the Content was used.

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own private Family could only partake of ed to being that Admiral of the

Done into English by the Honourable Mr. Booth, of Ch. Ch. Coll. Oxon.

Confederates of Livis, Acarmania, and Changa, and all the Countries that border d

talling since by Pelanaureluce

1 MOTHEUS, the Son of Co-Hereditary Honour by his own Acquir'd Virtues; for he was Elequent, Stout, and Industrious; and no less famous for the Management of Civil than Military Affairs. He perform'd many eminent Exploits; but these following seem the most notable: He conquer'd the Olynthians and Byzantins, and took Samos; in which Enterprize (the year before) the Athenians had spent Two hundred thousand Talents, yet Timotheus gain'd this Island without putting the Public to any Expence. G 2 He He manag'd the War against Cotys, and took a Booty from him, for the Commonwealth, worth Two hundred thousand Talents. He also rais'd the Siege of Cyzicus; and accompanied Agesilaus when he went to affist Ariobarzanes; of whom when Agesilaus receiv'd present Pay, Timotheus chose rather to increase the Possessions of his Fellow-Citizens, than accept of that his own private Family could only partake of; therefore he took Erichthon and Sestus.

Timotheus being made Admiral of the Navy, failing along by Peloponne Juis he wasted the Country of Laconia, and beat their Fleet. He reduc'd Corcyra under the Government of the Athenians, with their Confederates of Epirus, Acarnania, and Chaonia, and all the Countries that border'd upon that Sea. By which Action of his, the Lacedamonians were forc'd to let fall their old Quarrel, and voluntarily to offer the Athenians the Dominion of the Seas; a Peace being concluded between these two Common-wealths, one Article was, That the Athenians should be Lords at Sea. So great Joy was there at Athens upon the news of this Victory, that then it was that public Altars were first Erected to the Goddefs of Peace, and a Pallet appointed Her. The Memory of which noble Act, that they might perpetuate, they erected a Statue for him in the Forum; which Honour was

was never pay'd to any Man before him, viz. That the same People who had fet up a Statue for the Father, should give the Son one to; the last serving to revive the Memory of the former aminastimos , salar

When Timotheus was very ancient, and had quite left off all public business, War began to threaten the Athenians on every fideo Samos and Hollefoont revolted; and Philip of Macedon, being very powerful, made great Preparations for a War. Against whom, when they had fent Chares, they thought him not ftrong enough to oppose him; and thereupon make Menestheus (the Son of Ipbicrates, and Son-in-Law to Timotheus) their General; and order him to go to the War. They also send along with him his Father and Father-in-Law, to be his Councellors; Men excelling in Experience and Wifdom, whose Advice he should always follow, because they were Persons of such Authority, that there was great hopes by their means they might recover all they had loft. When these two were gone to Sames, and Chares had intelligence of it, he drew all his Forces thither. left there should be any Action in his absence. It so happened, that when they came near the Island, there arose a great Storm; for the avoiding of which, the two old Generals thought it very expedient to cast Anchor. But Chares, without any confidera-G 3 tion,

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tion, not obeying the Commands of his Councellors, but as if he had Fortune in the Ship with him, draws hear to Engage; and fends a Meffenger to Timorheus and L phicrates, commanding them to follow hima This Attempt having fucceeded illy and losing a considerable number of Ships, the retires back again from whence he came, and dispatches an Express to Athens, to det them know, that he could easily have taken Samos, had he not been deferted by Timotheus and Iphicrates. Upon this Accufation of his, they were Impeached. The Commons, who were fierce, jealous, factious, changeable, and Enemies alfo to all in Power, call them home; and accuse them of betraying their Country. In this Trial Timotheus is cast, and Fin'd an Hundred Talents; and fo being compelled, thro' the ill will of an ungrateful City, he retires to After his Death, the People repenting of the Sentence they had passed upon him, remitted all but a tenth part of his Fine, and oblige his Son Conon to repair part of a Wall. In which Action may be feen the various turns of Fortune u for those very Walls which the Grandfather Conon had Rebuilt with the Spoils of the Enemy, is the Nephew forc'd to repair out of his own Estate, to the great Scandal of his Family. We might produce many Inftances of the Wisdom and Moderation of Timothe tion. 115 2

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w; but one shall suffice; from whence we may easily Conjecture, how dear he was to his Friends. When he was but a young Man, he was forc'd at Athens to plead for himself; and not only his Friends and private Acquaintance came to his Affiflance, but also fason the Tyrant, who at that time was a Man of very confiderable Power. This Man, tho' in his own Kingdom, never thought himself fafe without his Guards about him, yet came alone to Athens, valuing his Friend at so dear a rate, that he rather chose to endanger his own Life, than not to affift Timothens in vindicating his Honour. But not with Randing all this, Timotheus foon after, by the Command of the People, fought against him; accounting the obligations to his Country greater than those of Friendship. This was the last Age of the Athenian Comman ers; for after Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus, there was no Commander of any note in that City. In Himsel , coming adjust suom What he did was great; and out at the ulual road; yet fo little known, that we are oblig'd to be the larger in our Account of him; For he never own'd his Succels co the greatness of his Army, or to any of the defined evanin Gu4 ; it to esture Technols which frem'd his posidiar Talent, a most extraordinary Policy His first Employment wis in the Guards at Areaxerses his Court;

we may easily **A**on**H** ar how dear he was to his Frends when he was but

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three, but and fifth the Tyrant, who at has hine was a Man of very confiderable

DATAMES.

Done into English by Mr. Edwards, M. A. and Fellow of St. John's Coll. Oxon.

ATAMES a Carian, the Son of Camiffares by a Scythian Lady, was the most considerable for Valour and prudent Conduct, of any of those of the Barbarous Nations, except the two famous Carthaginians, Hamilcar and Hannibal. What he did was great, and out of the usual road; yet so little known, that we are oblig'd to be the larger in our Account of him: For he never own'd his Success to the greatness of his Army, or to any of the common causes of it; but always to that which feem'd his peculiar Talent, a most extraordinary Policy. His first Employment was in the Guards at Artaxerxes his Court ;

Court; but his Father, as the Reward of his eminent Courage and Conftant Fidelity to the King, had the Government of that part of Cilieis which lies upon Capadocia, and is inhabited by the Leucolyrians. Datames having a Command in the Army, first signalized himself in the War against the Cadusians; in which there were many Thousands killed, and chiefly by his means; for which Service, Camissares likewise falling in the Battel, he succeeded him in the Province.

Autophrodates being fent by the King to reduce some to their obedience who had revolted, he behav'd himfelf with equal Gallantry; for by his management a finall Party furprized the Enemy in their Camp. and destroy'd them; the greatest part of the Army doing no fervice at all in the Action. After this, he was remov'd to higher Employments; for Thyus, the Prince of Paphlagonia, 6 descended from that Pylamenes which Homer fays was flain by Patroclus in the Trojan War) not fufficiently complying with the King, Datames (who was his Coufin-German) was fent with an Army to force his fubmission to the King's Pleafure. But he intending to use his utmost endeavours, to make his Relation senfible of his Duty upon easie terms, and not suspecting any Treachery from a Friend, went to him without any Attendants a mid gaing bas of of santa harmal Althora

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Altho' his Confidence put him in extream danger; for Thyus had refolv'd upon a private Affasination. Datamas staving intelligence of the design from his Mother, who was Thyus's Aunt, and understood his intentions, made his escape, and immediately proclaim'd the War; which he vigorously continued, tho' he was deserted by Ariobarzanes the Governor of Lydia, Ionia, and all Phrygia; and made not only Thyus, but his Wife and Children too, his Captives.

He made all the haste imaginable, that the news of this Exploit might not get to the King before him, and got privately to Court, without any one's knowledg. The next day he flew'd his Captive, who was a vast black hairy Man, with a frightful and ghaftly countenance, dress'd very richly in the Habit of a Persian Nobleman; with a Golden Collar, and all other Princely Ornaments. He himfelf appear'd meanly, like Peafant, in a Hunter's Head-piece, made of the Skins of feveral Beafts; with a Clubin one Hand, and Toyls in the other; and brought him out in fuch a manner as if he hadibeen fome cruel Monster, just subdued. Sounufual a fight drew a great many Spectators; one being accidentally therethat knew Thyun, inform'd the King of it. But he at first suspecting so strange a story, commanded Pharnabazus to go and bring him a cer-

certain relation of the thing; from whom? when he had receiv'd full fatisfaction; commanded him to be brought into his Prefence, and was infinitely pleas'd with the humour; but especially, that so great a Prince should so unexpectedly come into his hands. After he had for this nobly rewarded Datames, he fent him to the Army which was then rais'd against Egypt, under Pharnabazus and Tithraustes, and gave him a Command equal to theirs; and after Pharnabazus was recall'd, He was made Generaliffimo. But whilft he was haftning the general Rendefvouz of the Army, and preparing for his March to Egypt, he receiv'd an Express from the King, that he should go against Aspis, the Governor of Cataonia; a Country which lies above Cilicia, and borders upon Cappadocia. For Aspis depend. ing upon his Woods and ftrong Frontier Towns, not only disobey'd some of the-King's Commands, but rob'd his Carriages, and made incursions on all about him. Tho? Datames was at a great distance from Caraomia, and then in the management of greater Affairs, yet he yielded to the King's pleafure; and in order to the execution of it, fet Sail only with a few, but very flout Men; supposing, (as indeed it afterwards happen'd) that he could have more advantage over him with a fmall Company upon surprize, than with a great Army after

after open defiance. Being arriv'd at Cilicia, he continu'd his Marches 'till he had pas'd over Mount Taurus, and was come to the end of his Journey. Enquiring for Aspis, he understood that he was Hunting near that place. The occasion of Datames's -coming was presently suspected; and therefore Aspis immediately put the Pisida, and others he had with him, in a posture of defence. Upon notice of which, Datames muster'd up his Men, and commanded them to follow him; and being mounted on an excellent Horse, rid briskly up to the Enemy. But Aspis perceiving the vigour of the first onset, the least endeavours of refistance were discourag'd; he immediately furrender'd himfelf, and was fent in Chains to the King, by Mithridates.

agitation, recollecting, that he had call'done of his best Commanders from a considerable Post, and sent him upon a trivial employment; but thinking that perhaps he was not yet gone, dispatch'd a Messenger to Ace, with Orders that he should by no means leave the Army. But the Command was superseded; for those that Guarded Aspu were met upon the way. Datames having accomplish'd his business with such unexpected Expedition, was greater in the Kings Favour than ever; and became so considerable, that he was the Envy of the whole.

whole Court. For they perceived, that his fingle Interest was greater than theirs in conjunction; and therefore all jointly conspir'd his ruin. Pandates the Treasurer, who was his Confident, made him acquainted with all their defigns, and told him by Letter what danger he was in, if any milcarriage should happen during his Conduct in Egypt; That Kings took the Honour of great Actions to themselves, but always: imputed ill fuccess to their Ministers; and therefore were easily inclin'd to difgrace those whom they thought the occasion of it; That his condition was worse than any others, because it was the temper of the King, to hate those most who had before been his chief Favourites. Having receiv'd this news upon his coming back to the Army at Ace, and knowing the advice was not to be contemn'd, he resolv'd to leave the King's Service, but did nothing that was inconfiftent with his Truft; for he left the Army under Mandrocles a Magnesian, went with a Detachment of his own Men into Cappadocia, and fiez d Paphlagonia, which lay next to it, without discovering his difaffection to the King. After which he held a fecret correspondence with Ariobarzanes, got some Men together, and plac'd them in the fortified Towns for the de-fence of the Garrisons. But it being Winter, the feafon of the year hinder'd fome of his defigns. Hearing

Hearing the Pisida were preparing some Forces against him, he sent his Son Ariside-thither with an Army. The young Ge-neral was kill'd in the Engagement. But his Father, concealing the loss he had receiv'd, went with some more Men into the Field, being willing to get to the Enemy before his Soldiers had the report of the Defeat; for he thought the news of his Son's Death would very much discourage them. Being arriv'd at the place he design'd, he so Encamp'd that he could neither be oppress'd with the numerous Forces of the Enemy, nor yet hinder'd from making any advantageous Affault. His Father-in-Law Mithrobarzanes, Captain of the Horse, was then with him; but thinking their condi-tion very desperate, went over to the Enemy. Of which Datames having notice, he presently consider'd, that the noise of his being deferted by fo confiderable a Man might make the rest revolt; and therefore gave out, that Mithrobarzanes was by his orders gone away like a Renegade, that he might be admitted by the Enemy, and for defroy them with less difficulty. That therefore they ought not to deliver him in-to their hands, but immediately to follow him; which if they did with Resolution, the Pisida could make no refistance, for they would be flain both in their Camp and in the Field. The Defign being approved

of, he led out his Army, and pursu'd Mithrobrazanes; upon whose approach to the Enemy, Datames commanded his Standard to be fet up. The Pisida being in great confusion at the suddenness of the business; suspected the Renegades, and imagin'd they came with a treacherous defign of doing the greater mischief. Therefore they first fell upon them; which furprifing Accident put them in fuch diforder, that they were forc'd to fight with those to whom they had fled, and affift those whom they had deserted; but being spar'd by neither, were all prefently cut off. Datames afterwards falling upon the Pifide, forc'd them to fly, kill'd many in the purfuit, and took pofferfion of their Camp. By this Stratagem he at once punish'd the Deserters, and gain'd a Victory over his Enemies; and made that which was intended for his Ruin, the means of his Success. And perhaps it was a Defign to cunningly laid, and in to little time effected, that History can shew nothing parallel to it.

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Notwithstanding these great Exploits, Scisman his eldest Son lest him, and gave the King an account of his Desection. Artaxerxes being troubled at the News, (for he knew he was to deal with a Man of undaunted Courage, one who never design'd any thing but what he dar'd venture to essel, and never attempted any thing but what

what he had sufficiently consider'd) sent Autophradates into Cappadocia. Datames endeavour'd to possess himself of the Forest, which is the passage to Cilicia; but not being able so suddenly to get his Men together, he was oblig'd to take other measures; yet he chose so commodious a place for his Camp, that the Enemy could neither enclose him, nor pass by him without being attacqu'd in several places; and was posted so advantageously, that in any Encounter their Multitudes could do very little da-

mage to his fmall Company.

Altho' Autophrad tes was fenfible of all this, yet he was refolv'd rather to engage him, than either to continue long in that place, or go back with a great Army; for he had in the Field Twenty Thouland Horse, an Hundred Thousand Foot, and Three Thousand Slingers; which were the Cardaces, a People of the Leffer Asia; besides these, Eight Thousand out of Cappadocia, Ten out of Armenia, Five from Paphlagonia, Ten from Phrygia, Five from Lydia, about Three Thousand of the Aspen-die and Piside, Two from Cilicia, as many of the Caspians, and Three Thousand Mercenaries, which he had out of Greece; befides a confiderable number of Light-Horse. All Datames's hopes of doing any thing against such mighty Forces, were in himself, and the convenience of the place wherein andw

he was Encamp'd; for he had not the Twentieth part of the Men which were brought by Autophnadates. Nevertheless with these he ventur'd to give him Battel; and in it, but with the loss of about a Thousand Men, cut off several Thousands of His. In memory of which he erected a Trophy, the next day, in the place where they fought. After he had remov'd his Camp from thence, tho' his Army was ever the least, yet he was still greatest when the Fight was done; for he understood the Country, and always contriv'd, that the Enemy should be confin'd to such narrow places, where he had no room to manage any confiderable number of Men. Autophradates finding the War prov'd more unfuccessful to his Master than to Datames, solicited him to a Peace, and promis'd to reftore him to the King's Favour. He accepted the Conditions, tho' he did not think them real; and faid he intended to fend his Ambassadors to Artaxerxes, in order to an Accommodation. And the War being thus ended, Autophradates went into Phry-

But the King hated Datames so implacably, that when he saw his Destruction could not be accomplished, by any open Force, he endeavour d by some secret Methods to take him off. But he deseated several of their designs; of which the most

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remarkable was this: He had intelligence, that some about him, and such as were reputed his Friends, had contriv d his Death; this he thought, because it came from his Enemies, was neither to be over-much credited, nor perfectly flighted; but being willing to fee the reality of the thing, he went, to the very place were he was tolds they intended the Allafination; To one that exactly refembl'd him for shape and stature, he likewife gave his Habit, and commanded him during the Journey to represent him, by riding in his place. He himself was Accouter'd like a Common Soldier, and Rid amongst His Guards. And charg'd all the Company to observe his motions, and second them. When the Conspirators faw the Company, they were deceiv'd by the place and dress, and affaulted the Counterfit; which when Datames perceiv d, he presently threw out his Darts, and the rest (according to the Sign) doing so too, they were all kill'd upon the fpot.

Yet at last this sagacious Man was overreach'd by a Project of Mithridates, the Son of Ariobarzanes; who affur'd the King of his Death, upon condition he might act as he pleas'd with impunity. The liberty being granted, and the promise (according to the Custom of the Persians) confirmed by the Hand, he pretended an open Desiance of the King, rais'd Forces, Forces, befieg'd his Towns, and vext his Provinces ? by Agents defir d a correspondence with Datames, and after a Diffribution among his Soldiers, complemented him with a Prefent of rich Spoils. By thefe Actions he perswaded Datames, that he had engag'd himself in an everlasting Quarrel with the King; but however, to prevent the least sufpition of his designs, he neither defir'd a Conference with him or an Enterview; but manag'd his false Friendship so well at diffance, that nothing should feem to be the foundation of it, but their common Hatred of the King. Que amos bluos

When he thought he had fufficiently fee led him in this opinion, he fent him word, that it was necessary they should prepare greater Forces, and engage themselves in an Actual War with the King himself; and if he approv'd the Proposal, that he would meet him at any place he should chuse, to consult farther about it. The time and place being appointed; Mithridates, going thither some days before, with one that was his Confident, hid feveral Swords, and nicely observ'd how they lay. When the day came which they had fix'd upon, they both fent some Servants to view the place, and then met according to the agreement. After they had spent some time in the debate, and were parted, Mithridates (that he might not be at all suspected) before he

was got to his Company, return'd to the fame place, and fat down were he had Buried one of the Daggers, as if he had design'd only to rest himself. But having taken up the Weapon; and conceal'd it under his Clothes, he fent for Datames, under pretence that he had forgotten fome important matter; and told him, that as he pass'd along he had 'fpy'd a very convenient place for their Camp, Datames turning and looking with some earnestness upon the place which he shew'd him, was immediately stabb'd in the Back, and Dy'd before any could come up to his affifiance. Thus he that had ever-reach'd many by generous Stratagems, but none by any base Treachety, was at last deceived and ruin'd by the plausible pretences of Friendship.

Actical War with the King himfelf; and if he approved the Proposal, that he would must him at any place he should chuse, to consult faither about it. The time and

consider some days before, with meet at we she was his Considert, hid feveral swords, and nicely obligived how they lay. When she day came which they had had had upon, they had had wat upon, they at their meet scording to the agreement at their meet scording to the agreement. At let may had spend one time in the dependent base; and were parted, Adichidates (that the might not be at all suspendent dependence).

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EPAMINONDAS.

His Family was Ben-

Done into English by Mr. Lane, Fellow of Merton Coll. Oxon.

ofe Penae in Musick was not less PAMINOND AS the Son of Polymuius, was a Theban. But before we begin our account of him, it feems neffary to defire the Readers, that they would not make an Estimate of other Peoples Manners by their own; nor suppose, that things of small value with them, bear the same rate amongst all the rest of Mankind. Musick (we know) according to our Sentiments is below the Dignity of a Prince; to Dance, the mean Employ of Slaves; yet amongst the Grecians these are Gentile Accomplishments, of great repute. Epaminondas's Character

racter deserves to have nothing omitted, that may conduce to the knowledge of fo great a Man; wherefore we shall in the first place discourse of his Parentage, in the next of his Education, then of his Manners and Disposition, (and if there be any thing elfe on those heads worth relating;) and in the last place, concerning his Actions; These are great concern of life, and are by most preferr'd before all the solitary Habits of a lazy Virtue. His Father's Name you have heard before. His Family was Gentile, yet fuch as might receive, not give a lustre. Poverty seem'd entail'd upon him from his Ancestors; yet never was Theban more Gentilely Educated. He learnt to play on the Lute, and to Sing, from Dionyfius; whose Fame in Musick was not less than the celebrated Names of Damon or Lam-Olympiodorus taught him the Flute, and Calliphron to Dance. His Tutor in Philosophy was Lysis the Tarentinian, of the Pythagorean Sell; He was to great an Admirer of this old Man, that his referv'd fevere Convertation pleas'd him better than the gay Company of his Equals; Neither would he leave him till he had fo far outgone his Fellow-Pupils, that it was appaent his Excellence in other Arts would be proportionate to his happy fuccels in thefe. If you give a judgment according to our Cuftoms, these things may seem mean and contemptible,

temptible, and not proper Theams of Praise; yet were they anciently in Greece of asgrest concern as good Breeding could make them. After he was fifteen years old, he betook himself to the Academy, for the Exercises of the Body; where he did not fo much aim at greatness of firength, as nimbleness in motion; The first he knew might gain applause in a Ring, the other was of the greatest use in War. Therefore he designed to himself such a perfection in Running and Wraftling, as he might be able while he was standing on his Feet to grapple and close with his Enemy; but neglected the other tricks of these Exercises, which were performed by the Parties tugging and tumbling one another on the Ground. These were his Recreations; Arms were his serious business. This Strength of Body thus gain'd, was attended with a more numerous train of the Goods of the Mind. He was modest, prudent, grave in his Behaviour, of great Address, and none more wife in managing each juncto of time to the greatest Advantage. He was well Skill'd in the Art of War, Valiant in the Duties of it, and of an undaunted Courage; So severe a Lover of Truth, that he would not Lye in Jest; Chast, Compassionate, and Patient in an eminent degree; eafily forgiving, not only the Injuries of the Multitude, but of his Friends; Above all things, careful to conceal Secrets committed to him; which fort of Silence is sometimes as great advantage as the clearest Eloquence. le thought the readiest way to Learn was to Hear; therefore when he came to any place in which Debates were held, either in Politicks or Philosophy, henever departed until the Discourse was at an end. Poverty was so easie a thing to him, that Glory was the only advantage he made of the Commonwealth. In his Necessities he was perfidiously deserted by his Friends; vet was his Kindness so constant to others in their Wants, that one would guess his Principle was, That Friends have all things in Common. Thus, when any of his Countrymen were taken Captive, or any of his Acquaintance had a Daughter Marriagable, who could not be preferr'd for want of Fortune, he call'd a Confult of Friends, allotted to every one (according to the proportion of his Estate) what he should give, and when the defign'd Sum was made up, he would not himself receiveit; but introduced the Person who was to receive the benefit, to collect it, that he might know how much he ow'd to every one's kindness. He gave a brave experiment of his Integrity in the repulse of Diomedon the Cyricenian, who at the request of Artaxerxes had undertaken to corrupt Epaminondas; in pursuit of this defign, he comes to Thebes with vaft Sums of Gold, and with a Present of Five Talents

lents brings over to his Party Micythus, a young Man whom Epaminondas dearly lov Micythus addresses himself to Epaminondas and acquaints him with the Gift he had receiv'd, and the reason of Diomedon's coming; whereupon he fent for Diomedon, and thus speaks to him; There is no want of Money s for if the King desures such things as are for the Interest of Thebes, I am ready to comply with him without the Bribe of a Reward : But if they are of another nature, be has not Silver and Gold enough. For the Love of my Country weighs more with me, than all the Riches of the Universe. That your who did not know me, and thought me like your self, made this Attempt upon my Virtue, is no wonder; and I forgive you: But haste you hence. Such Temptations may prevail on others, tho' they can't on-And you, Micythus, restore him bis Money; which if you do not presently do, I will deliver you up into bands of Justice. Diomedon, dejected at the resolute Honesty of the Man, now only defires, to return fafely Home, and carry his Treasures along with him. You shall (replies Epaminondas,) not for your Sake, but my own; left if your Money Should be taken from you, any one should suspect, That I accepted that as a Spoil, which I had before refus'd as a Gift; and did not so much contemn the Bribe, as hate the Obligations of it. Then he asked him whither he would be convey'd; and Diomedon answering to Athens, he gave him \mathbf{H}

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him a Guard to Conduct him thither; and not content with this, he took care, by his Friend Chabrias the Athenian (whom we have mention'd before,) that he should securely take Shipping there. I suppose this is a sufficient testimony of his unshaken Honefty. We might produce a great many more of the like nature, but we must deny our felves that liberty; because we design in this one Volume to comprehend the Lives of many Illustrious Persons; upon each of whom other Writers before us have bestow'd large Commentaries. He was the -most eloquent of the Thebans; nor less acute in extemporary Repartee, than perswasive in continued Discourses. One Meneclides was his profess'd Enemy, always opposing him in the Government of the Commonwealth; He was a Man ready and bold in Discourses; that is, he was a Theban; to which Nation Nature feems to have allotted more of Strength than Wit. When this Man found, that Epaminondas's Conduct in Military Affairs gain'd him Reputation, he began to advise the Thebans, To lay afide the thoughts of War, and enjoy themselves in Peace. This he did, not out of any Love to his Country, but to stifle the occasions of Epaminondas's Glory. To this Epaminon-das replies, War indeed is a dismal Word; and tis the Sound alone that you make use of, of the which which went been

and Lymeden angwering to Brown, Le Lave

to affright our Citizens from their Interest. 'Tis Ease that you pretend, but Slavery is meant; for the Foundations of Peace are best laid by the Sword; and they that propose to themselves an undisturb'd and flourishing Tranquility, must be well Disciplin'd in War. Therefore (O Thebans) would you raise your State above the rest of Greece? This Glory is to be gain'd in Camps, not Schools of Exercise. At another time, when this same Meneclides objected to him, That he was never Married, and had no Children; and principally infifted on this, as a great height of insolence, That he durst compare his own Actions with those of Agamemnon's. He answered, Meneclides, do not object the want of a Wife; for I should in that affair sooner take any Man's advice than yours, (for Meneclides lay under the fuspition of a very incontinent Fellow:) But you are mistaken, if you think it my Ambition to reach Agamemnon's Glory; for he with the affiftance of all Greece, scarcely at last, in ten years time took one City; whereas I, on the other side, with the single Forces of one City, and in one day, routed the Lacedæmonians, and deliver'd all Greece from Slavery. When he went to the Convention of the States of Arcadia, to engage them in a League with the Thebans and Argives, he found there Callistratus the Athenian Ambassador, to oppose his designs, who was esteemed the best Orator of his time; he very bitterly inveighed against

the Thebans and Argives, who were then Confederates; and amongst the rest of the Invectives, were thefe, That the Arcadians should consider what kind of Men both Cities had produc'd, and from thence give a judgment of the rest; Orestes and Alcmeon mere Argives, and these wickedly murder'd their Mother; O'dippus was born at Thebes, who when he had Kill dhis Father, Married his Mother, and had Children by her. When Epaminondas had answer'd the rest of his Speech, he came at last to his Railing, and said, He wonder'd at the Folly of the Athenian Orator, who did not consider, That these Men were born Innocent, but when they had contracted Wickedness enough to be Expell'd their own Country, were yet thought good enough to be Recieved and Carefs'd. at Athens. But then did his Eloquence most eminently appear, when before the Battle of Leuttra, all the Ambassadors of the Confederates were met at Sparta: Here, in this great Affembly, he so clearly set forth the Tyranny of the Lacedamonians, that his Discourse did as much shake the Greatness of that State as the Battle at Leuttra; for then it was (which appear dafterwards) that they were deprived of the Affistance of their Allies. That he was a very forgiving Man, and thought it unlawful to be angry at, or revenge, the Injuries of his Country, take the following instances: When Envy had so far work'd him out of the Affections

fections of his Citizens, that they would not chuse him General, but supply'd that Trust with a very unskilful Commander, whose imprudence led their Forces into fuch Streights that they were enclos'd by their Enemies, and now near Ruin; they began to reflect upon, and wish for, the good Conduct of Epaminondas, who was at this time a Common Soldier in the Army; To him they apply themselves for Affistance; who taking no notice of their Ingratitude, rais'd the Enemies Leaguer, and secured a fafe Retreat to the Army. Such Actions as these he often perform'd; but that which bears a greater laftre than any of the reft, is his brave deportment when he led the Army into Peloponnesus against the Lacedamonians; in which Expedition he had two Collegues, one of which was Pelopidas, a very valiant Man; who falling under the Envy of some Crimes that were fasten'd upon him by his Adverfaries, all their Commands were taken from them, and new Pretors appointed to fucceed. Epaminondas refus'd to obey this Act of State, and perfwaded his Collegues to do the like; and fo they proceeded in the Management of that War. The reason upon which Epaminondas acted was this, He fore [aw (if he comply'd) the Ignorance and Folly of the design'd Com-manders would ruin the Army. The Law was, That it should be Death for any Man to H 3 retain

retain his Command longer than was limitted by his Commission. This Epaminondas well understood, and the danger of it; but did not think fit, That the Law which was made for the Preservation of the Commonwealth should be turn'd to its Ruin; therefore he durst continue his Command four Months longer than the People had Enacted. After their Return home, his Collegues being impeach'd upon this Crime, he permitted them to cast the whole guilt upon him, and to plead, That it was wholly thro' his means they had not obey'd the Orders of the State. Which Plea brought them clearly off; but none could believe Epaminondas would make any Reply, because the Crime being plain, they could not fancy what Defence could be made in the Cafe. He makes his Appearance, pleads Guilty to his Indictment, and confesses all that his Collegues had laid to his Charge; and tells them, that he was very ready to undergo the Punishment the Law appointed; but now, being a Dying Man, defir'd this one Favour of them, that this Inscription might be wrote on his Tomb, Epaminondas was put to Death by the Thebans, because at Leuctra he forced them to overcome the Lacedæmonians; whom, before he was General, not a Man of the whole Country of Bocotia had the Courage to look upon in the Field; and that is one Battle he not only rais'd Thebes from out of its Ruins, but reftor'd all Greece Greece its Liberty; and so far changed the Scene of Affairs, that the Thebans besieg d Sparta, and the Lecedæmonian Pride was brought so low as to be contented not to be Slaves; Neither, tho' Commanded, would be lay down his Arms'till he had Fortify'd Messe-na, and by that means laid a perpetual Bridle upon the proud City of Sparta. This Speech rais'd Admiration, Laughter, and Applause in the whole Affembly; fo that not one of the Judges durst give their Verdicl. And thus he came off this Trial for his Life with great Reputation. The last time he was General, was at Mantinea; where, preffing too boldly upon the Enemies, they foon apprehended the advantage, and (knowing his Death would be the fafety of their Country) turn'd their whole Force upon him, encompass'd him, and would not leave the pursuit, till after a great Slaugh-ter on both sides, and a brave resistance made by Epaminondas, they saw him (wounded with a Dart) fall to the Ground. This fad accident did at first somewhat discourage the Bootians; but recollecting themfelves, Revenge fucceeded Grief, and they gave not over till they had utterly routed the Enemy. Epaminondas finding himfelf mortally wounded, and knowing, that should the Shaft be pull'd out of his Head he must immediately Die, kept it in so long 'till'twas told him his Army had got the Victory ; H 4

Then (fays he) I have liv'd long enough, for I shall Die unconquer'd. So the Iron being drawn out, he immediately expir'd. He was never Marry'd; for which Pelopidas (who had a very Debauch'd Son) thus reproving him, That he took but little Care of the Commonwealth, who would not leave Children behind him to support it after his Death. He replies, Consider whether you do not perform worse Offices to it, in leaving so Leud an Heir, who may help to destroy, but cannot maintain a Commonwealth: But as for me, I cannot want Mue; the Leuctrian Victory is my Off- [pring, which will not only survive me, but immortalize my Name. At the time that the Exiles, under the Conduct of Pelopidas, furpriz'd Thebes, and drove the Lacedamonian Garrifon out of the Castle, Epaminondas (so long as his own Citizens were engag'd in the Fight) kept himself at home, and forbore all Action. The reason of which proceeding was, That he could not in Honour join with these Betrayers of their Country, nor would he appear in Arms against them, because he would not stain himself with the Blood of his Country-men; for he well knew, That Victory in a Civil War was at best but an unfortunate Prize. But this same Man, as foon as the Battle was drawn off as far as the Cadmea, and the Lacedamonians only concern'd, thrust himself into the formost Rank. I think I shall have said enough of the

the Virtues and Actions of this great Man, if I add but this one thing, which none can deny, That before Epaminondas's Birth, and after his Death, Thebes was conftantly fubject to a Foreign Power; but on the contrary, while he Prefided in that Commonwealth, it became the Leading State of Greece. Whence we may draw this conclusion, That the Bravery of one Great Man does more advance a State than the whole Mass of People.

"Done into Englin by Mr. Octeb.

ELOPIDAS, the Theban, is more famous in Hillory than comman Talk; of whole Vertues I camnot rell in what marner I thall teat; for thould I give a full description of

his Attions, tis lutter to be topical, that I should rather seem to white a Hillery than his Lifes and if I fnould only capth upon the Heads, that then I thould doud his Ne-

Harman the grant would not percare how event a later negrous: Therefore, to the belief of my power to prevent both, I had provide againfithe fatiety as well to tendentice of my Readers, Philiphilis the and a

THE

LIFE

OF

PELOPIDAS.

Done into English by Mr. Creech.

ELOPIDAS, the Theban, is more famous in History than common Talk; of whose Vertues I cannot tell in what manner I shall treat; for should I give a full description of. his Actions, 'tis justly to be fear'd, that I should rather seem to write a History than his Life; and if I should only touch upon the Heads, that then I should cloud his Reputation; and those who are unacquainted with the Greek Histories, would not perceive how great a Man he was : Therefore, to the best of my power to prevent both, I shall provide against the satiety as well as ignorance of my Readers. Phabidas the Spartan

Spartan, as he led his Army thro' Thebes towards Olynthus, at the inftigation of fome few Thebans (who, that they might the more eafily check the contrary Faction, fided with the Spartan interest) surprized the Citadel Cadmea; and this he did, not be any order from the State, but upon to own head; for which the Lacedamonian took away his Commission, and set a Fine upon him; but refus'd to furrender the Castle to the Thebans; concluding it more Politic, now distaste was once given, to continue a Guard upon them, than permit them to be free. For after the Peloponesian War, and the Athenians overcome, they faw the Thebans only stand in competition, and dare to oppose their Empire. Upon this Account they put their Friends in power; and as for the Heads of the Faction, fome they Butcher'd, and fome they Banish'd; amongst which this Pelopidas (whom-I mention'd in the beginning) was an Exile. Almost all these fled to Athens, not to live lazily, and at ease; but as being the nearest and most convenient station. whence on the first opportunity they might endeavour the freedom of their Country: And therefore as foon as time appear d, upon agreement with their Friends at Thebes, they made choice of that day in which the Governors used to meet at a pubhe Banquet, to destroy their Enemies, and

free the City: Great Actions are often perform'd with no great Force; but certainly never before from fo mean a beginning as this, was fo great an Empire overthrown: For not above twelve of the Banish'd Youths undertook the Enterprise, and not above an Hundred would join with them in so angerous an Attempt; and yet by this depicable number was the Power of the Spartans Ruin'd: For these did not so much Attempt the contrary Faction in Thebes, as the Lacedamonians, the then Lords of Greece; and whose Empire, first wounded by this Action, was a little while after in the Battle of Leudra, brought to the last gasp: Now these twelve, Pelopidas their Leader, leaving Athens in the day-time, that about the dusk of the Evening they might reach Thebes, to prevent suspition they put themselves in a Country dress, and appear'd like Hunters, with Hounds, Hunting-poles and Nets; and entring the City at the very nick of time, they refresh'd themselves at Charon's House, by whose appointment the day for the Attempt was fet. And here I crave leave to break my Story with a short Ob-servation, To what great Calamities doth supine security expose! For the Theban Ma-gistrates were quickly inform'd, that the Exiles were in Town; but being eager on their Entertainment, they slighted the discovery fo much, that they would not trouble

trouble themselves to examine a matter of fo great Concernment: Besides, which is a clearer demonstration of their Madness, a Letter was brought from Archias the chief Priest of Athens, to Archias the chief Magistrate of Thebes, which made a full discovery of the Plot: This being deliver d an while he was at Table, without opening it, he clapt it under his Cushion, with these Words, I adjourn Business till to Morrow. In the dead time of the Night, when they were well drunk, the Exiles, under the Conduct of Pelopidas, dispatcht them all: And that workonce over, and the common People call'd in to Liberty and Arms, many from the Country as well as Town came in to their Assistance. They beat the Spartan Garrison out of the Castle, freed their Country, and as for those who entic d Phebidas to Surprize the Cadmea, some they Executed, and some they Banish d. All this unquiet time, Epamiondas (as I hinted in his Life) whilft the Citizens only quarrel'd amongst themselves, never stir'd; and therefore the freeing of Thebes is the peculiar Glory of Pelopidas. In almost all other Exploits Epaminondas had a share; for in the Battle at Leustra, Epaminondas was General, and Pelopidas Captain of a Select Band, which first broke the Main Body of the Spartans; and in all Enterprises he made one. Thus when Sparta was fform'd, he Commaded

Commanded one Wing; and that the old Messenians might quickly recover their own Country, He himfelf went an Ambaffador to the Persian. In short, he was the other Men at Thebes; tho' but second, yet so as to be next Epaminondas. He had also cross Fortune to Encounter, for first (as I have already mention'd) he liv'd in Banishment; and when he defign'd to bring Theffaly under the Theban Power, and thought the Character of an Ambassador, which all Nations hold Sacred, was a fufficient Protection; He and Ismenias were feiz'd by Alexander the Pherean Tyrant, and clapt in Chains. Epaminondas Warr'd on Alexander, and releived him; but neither after that could he be Friends with him that had offer'd the Affront; and therefore he perfwaded the Thebans, to undertake the Protection of Theffaly, and expel the Tyrants: He being Chief Commander in that Expedition, and having led his Forces into The [faly, as foon as ever he came in fight of the Enemy, hasted to a Battle; In which Fight, when he faw Alexander, fir'd with rage, he four'd his Horse towards him, and advancing a great way before his Soldiers, was that through: This happen'd in his fecond Victory, for the Tyrant's Forces were already routed: For this Action, all the Cities of Theffaly Honour'd dead Pelopidas with Golden Crowns, and Brazen Statues; and gave his Children a confiderable piece of Land. THE

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LIFE

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AGESILAUS.

Done into English by Mr. Scott, M. A. and Fellow of Queen's Coll. Oxon.

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A Person highly applauded by the greater part of Historians, particularly by Xenophon, Scholar of Socrates, who treats him with a singular respect. At first he stood in Competition for the Crown with Leotychides, his Brother Agis's Son. It was a receiv'd Custom among the Spartans, to Dignific two Persons at a time with the Name of King, tho' in essential the stood of the Power.

* Power. These two were always to be of the two Eminent Families of Proclus and Eurysthenes, formerly Kings of Sparta; who had both descended from the ever famous Hercules, and from him had derived their Titles; yet especial care was taken, that the two Lines should not mix and confound, but that each should descend in its proper Channel; and that in both these the Eldest Heir Male should always succeed; and in defect of him, the next Prince of the Blood; the Female Sex being excluded. Agis in his Life time had deny'd Leotychides to be Ligitimate, but being better advis'd at his Death, declar'd him to be his Son; which gave encouragement to Leotychides, after the decease of Agis, to dispute the Empire with his Uncle Agesilaus; but by the Prevalency of Lyfander, a Turbulent and Potent Man in those times, Leotychides was rejected, and Agesilaus preferred.

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* The greatest part of the executive Power was devolv'd upon the Ephori; only the Power of Peace and War, and impound of Ceremonies in Religion, remaining in the King, Arift, Pol. lib. 3. 6. 10.

FSISACE, of Lordensen is a Perion line of the

[†] For Leotychides was supposed to be Bastard to Alcibiades, who when Agis was absent in the Wars, was observed to entertain too secreet a Correspondence with the Queen Timea, which being made known to Agis, he look dupon her Issue as Spurious. Plutarch vit. Alcib. Athenaus.

No fooner was he invested in the Kingdom, but being of an active Spirit, he perfwades the Lacedemonians to make an Invafion upon Asia, and to Commence War against that King in his Territories; holding it a Maxim of good Policy, rather to remove a War into an Enemy's Country than to entertain it at home: besides, the noise of * Artaxerxes's Arms had already reach'd Greece; to invade which, he had Equip'd a well furnisht Fleet, and set a Potent Land Army on Foot; and therefore to prevent him, Agestlaus, as soon as he had got his Forces in a readiness, enters Asia with fuch an incredible Exposition, that his unexpected presence anticipated the Fame of his coming; and that King's Lieutenants found him fet down in the midst of their Country before they had any notice of his defign, to their great aftonishment and confusion, they not being in a posture to make any defence. The news of fo unexpected a Guest could not long be conceal'd from the ears of Tissaphernes, Artaxernes's Viceroy there, who, upon the first Advertisement of it, politickly defires a Truce with the Spartans, under pretence of his Friendly Interpolition, to accomodate matters aim propriety he the object of the Engines

^{*} At that time King of Persia.

but really for nothing, but to gain time to levy Forces. However it was, a Truce was agreed upon for three Months; the two Generals binding themselves with a solemn Oath to observe it. And accordingly none was more punctually observed by Agesilaus, and less by Tissaphernes, who improved the time in making preparation for War. This the generous Spartan knew very well; but could not be induced to violate his Oath and make a breach, saying, That he should be the greatest Gainer at length, for Tissaphernes by his Perjury must necessarily expose himself and his undertakings to the just indignation of the Gods and Men: But that he by Religious observance should gain both Repu-

gious observance should gain both Reputation and Strength to his Party; since the Gods are always more propitious to, and all wise Men will the rather favour

and wish well to those, who put a value upon what they say, and are true to the

"Trust which is repos d in them.

The Truce expird, Tissaphernes draws down his Forces into Caria, partly to secure his own Possessinto Caria, p

bout into *Phrygia, which he over-ran with fuch celerity, that he had depopulated the whole Country before Tiffaphernes had advanc'd one foot forward to its relief.

Having here gratified his Soldiers with the Spoils of the place, he brought them back to their Winter Quarters at Ephelia where he let the Artelans on work to prepare and furnish him with all forts of Arms; and those of his Soldiers who were industrious to fit and Accoutre themselves therewith, he (for the encouragement of others) oblig'd with some special Reward or Mark of his Favour; as likewife every one who in their Dayly Military Exercifes particularly Signaliz'd himfelf above the rest; by which means he effected, that in a few days he had the best appointed, and the best Disciplin'd Army in the World. When it was time to leave his Winter Quarters, he publickly Proclaim'd what way he really defign'd to direst his course; having Learn'd by good Experience, that the Incredulous Afian would never believe the protests of his Edent bill fille nemy,

^{*} Frontinus lib. 1. c. 8. speaking of this Expedition, instead of Phrygia reads Lydia, but the mistake is not great, for Phrygia, which is a Province in Asia Minor, has Caria, Lydia, Mysia and Bithynia bordering so nearly unpon it, that as Strabo says, they are not easily distinguished, but are often promiscuously taken one for another.

nemy, but would certainly fend his Forces to Guard those Provinces which were most diffant from that which he declar'd himfelf ready to invade. Accordingly it prov'd, for Agesilaus manifesting his design to make an inroad into * Sardis, Tiffaphernes (whose own fault it was thus to be deceiyed the fecond time) again advances into Caria to defend it, but by the event discovering his error he returns with all fpeed to the affiftance of Sardis, but it was almost too late; for by that time he had reach'd the place, the Active Agefilaus had posted himself in all the most important places of the Country, and had loaded himself with the Spoils of it. The Asians were much stronger in Horse, and therefore the wary Spartans declin'd all opportunities of engaging in open Campaign, and made choice of places, the difficulty of which render'd the Enemy's Horse of little or no advantage to them; by which policy he always remained absolute Conqueror in Asia, the much inferior in Power; ballancing the inequality of Number with the excellency of his Conduct.

But whilft he was confulting to extend his Victories into the very bowels of Perfia, and to make the Sultan himself sensible of the heavy stroke of his Arms, he receives

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^{*} The Royal City of Lydia, Hor. Ep. 11. lib. 1. Zuid concinna Samos? quid Crest Regia Sardis?

an Express from the Ephori of Sparta, commanding his speedy return thither; the Mthenians and Buotians having denounced open War against that State. And here we have a fair opportunity of discovering the excellent Piety as well as Fortitude of Ave-Glaus, who when he was at the Head of Victorious Army, and might, in despite of the World, have put himself in possession of the whole Empire of Persia, did yet, notwithflanding fo advantageous a prospect, fubmit to the Commands of the absent Magistrates with so much readiness and condescention, as if he had wore the Character of a private Commoner in Sparta rather than of fo great a Prince. A rare example, worthy of the best of Emperors! Agesilaus, the Incomparable Agesilaus! to the Scorn and Contempt of the Ambitious World, chooses rather to be Master of a good Reputation than of the most flourishing Empire; rather to Command the Affections of his Country than to be Lord of Asia. Accordingly he is resolv'd, and in pursuance of this so generous a resolution, uses such Expedition, that he passes the Hellespont with his whole Army in Thirty Days, which Xerxes could not accomplish under a whole year. But when he came near to Peloponnese he found his way block'd upat *

Coronea by the Athenians, Bastians, * and their Confederates, who had posted themfelves there to impede him in his Paffage: But in vain did they contend against him who had Fortune at his Command; for at the first encounter he gave them a total rout. The Victory was great, but yet the praise of it was further enhanted by his Religious Clemency; for when some of the Enemy, escap'd from the Battel, had taken Sanctuary in & Minerva's Temple, and he was ask'd, what he would be pleas'd to determine concerning them, he strictly forbid any violence to be offer'd to them; tho' he might juftly have facrific'd them as proper Victims to his deep refentments, and to that Noble Blood which he Himfelf had expended in the Quarrel, having receiv'd fome confiderable wounds in the Fight. But his Religious respect towards the Sacred Temples did not only evidence it self in Greece, but in Asia too, where he express'd the like concern to preserve the Sacred Altar and the Images of the Gods from Violence and Prophanation; and he was often observ'd to say; " That in his opinion, he

^{*} The Thebans, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Eubaans, and Locrians, as Xenophongives the account.

t Which was at Itonia. a City in Thessaly, so called in is Itwis nows do is it Itwia Adwa, says Stephanus from Iton.

was equally Sacrilegious who offer'd vio-" lence to the Altar or the Votary at the

"Altar, and that in effect he was the Cri-

" minal who was an Enemy to the Sacred

" place, or the Religion of the place.

After this, Corinth was the chief Seat of Action, from whence this took the Denomination of the Corinthian War. Here albeit in one Engagement he had left 10000 of his Enemies breathless upon the ground, and had so far weakned the Enemies Forces that in all Mens opinions they were perfeetly broken, and incapacited ever to Rally again; yet the Generous Agesilaus, no less a Master of himself than the Enemy, was fo far from entertaining himfelf with any Infolent Conceits of his own Atchievments, that with a noble Compaffion he deplored the unhappy State of Greece, which through its own divisions should lose the Lives of so many brave Men; whose Valour, if it had been plac'd on a right level, and directed accordingly, would inevitably have prov'd the Ruin of Persia. After this, having pent up the Enemy within the Walls of Corinth, he was advis'd to lay close Siege to that place; but Generously reply'd, "That it was beneath the Prudence of his "Conduct fo to do; for altho' he knew ve-

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[&]quot; ry well how to reduce a Criminal to a

[&]quot; Sense of his Duty, yet he did not think the "Cities of Greece proper objects of his Va-· another and a result to content the

for whilft Greece fought against Greece, and destroy'd its own Members, whose concern against the Common E-memy the Barbarian was one and the same, every Member, which by this means was Rent and Torn off, was lost to the whole Body, whose Strength was thereby impar'd, and it Incapacitated to Resist the Attempts of the Enemy, who would improve the Advantage of

" their Divisions to their Confusion.

In the mean time happen'd that unfortunate Battel at Leuilra, fatal to the Lacedamonians, whither Agesilaus, as if he had been Conscious of the Event, could not by any Art be perswaded to go; but afterwards, when Epaminondas had Invested the City Sparta *, it being at that time naked, and not defended with any Wall; Agesilaus behav'd himself with so much Gallantry and Resolution, that in all Mens opinion, if Sparta had wanted her Agesilaus, she had not long been Sparta. One remarkable instance there was, wherein his expedite and seasonable Counsel discover'd it self to the advantage of all. For when some rash young Men, terrised with the report of the

^{*} Thusidides in his Proem says, that the Cities of Greece had no Walls; but afterwards the Spartan Tyrants, distrusting the strength of their Arms, encompass'd Sparta with a strong Wall. Justin. lib. 14.

the Thebans approach, had taken up a Resolution to pass over to them, and in order thereto had possess'd themselves of a Post without the City, Agesilaus foreseeing the ill consequence and example of it, if any of his Men should be known to go over to the Enemy, " He cunningly joyns himlel " with them, commends their choice of " that place where they were Posted, and " tells them, that he himself had design'd the fame before, and therefore that he " would be their Leader, and the Compani-" on of their Fortunes. They, caught with this Stratagem, presently return'd to their Allegiance, and having some of Agestlaus his followers joyn'd with them, lay afide all thoughts of Surrendring the place; for their numbers being augmented with Men of good Experience and Conduct, they durst not embrace any Treacherous defign, and defifted the more willingly because they thought that their Treason was not yet discover'd.

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After the Battle of Leustra, Sparta could never recover it felf, or regain its pristine Majesty and Power; yet Agestlaus bravely bore up under all Fortunes, and never wanted a helping hand to Sublevate the sinking State. Particularly when the Lacedamonians were one time in great want for Money, he, by Protesting those who had been defective in their Duty, and had incurr'd the censure of the Laws, obtain'd

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great Sums of Money from them, all which he frankly beftow'd upon the Public. And this was more fignally remarkable in him, that of all the Rich Presents which were given him by Kings, Noble Persons, or Cities which he had oblig'd, he never converted any to his own private use; neither did he ever deviate from the laudable Frugality and Thrift of the Spartans; his Diet was homely, his Apparel plain, his Lodging not adornd with the Novel bravery of the Times, but the same with that of Eurysthenes the Founder of his Family; into which, if you should enter, you would find no Provision for Lust, none for Luxury; but Patience was the Ornament of it, Abstinence its best Furniture, with these it abounded; but in other things it was not diftinguished from the House of a poor Man or private Person.

But Nature was not more indulgent to this Great Person in bestowing upon him so many Excellent Qualities of Mind, than She was niggardly in dispensing the Graces of his Body; for he was low of Stature, and lame of one Foot; which latter desect made him appear something Desorm'd; and Strangers that beheld his Face and the outward frame of his Body, slighted and contemned him; but those that were acquainted with the inward Accomplishments of his Mind, could never admire him equals.

nough. According to his former custom. when he was eighty years old, and was come into Egypt as Auxiliary to * Thacus, he lay down to fleep upon the shore amongst his Followers, without any Roof above him but that of Heaven, or Bed under him but the Earth, which he cover'd with Straw, a Beasts Skin being his Coverlet. In the fame manner lay all his Companions round him in mean and very contemptible Habit, and which was so far from fignifying the Person of a King to be amongst them, that it rather gave cause to suspect him to be some despicable mean Person. When the noise of his coming was bruited abroad, and had reach'd the Ears of the Persian, Messengers with Presents were instantly fent to him; tho? when they came and enquir'd which was Agesilaus? they could scarce be induc'd to believe that he was one of those that lay down in that neglected manner. But when after their Complements made, they had tender'd their

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^{*} Thacus having been constituted by the King of Persia chief Commander of all his Forces in Egypt, had treacherously caused Egypt and the Forces under his Command to revolt from the Persian, and made himself King, which gave occasion to the World to reprehend Agestians for this action, it being thought unworthy of so great a Man, and a Grecian too, for lucre sake to give affistance to so base a Rebel. Plutarch.

Prefents to him, he only made choice of Tome Veal-flesh, and other Victuals for prefent ufe, and had diffributed amongst his Servants the fweet Oyntments, the Coronets, with the more curious fare, and referved nothing for himfelf, but fent back all the reft again; the Barbarians then look'd upon him with greater contempt than before, imputing it to his ignorance, that he made choice of those less valuable things. Afterwards when he left Egypt, he was Presented by King * Nettanabes with 220 Talents, all which he liberally distributed amongst his Followers the Lacedamonians. Coming from thence into a Haven betwixt Cyrene and Egypt, commonly known by the Name of Menelaus his Haven, he unhappily fell Sick of a fatal Difease of which he dy'd. His Friends in order to convey his Dead Body, in defect of Honey, anointed it with Wax, and carried it home to Sparta.

* Diodorus affirms this King Nectanabes to be Thatchus himself, who thus rewarded him for confirming him in his Kingdom, but Plutarch will have him to be Cousin to Thachus, who being, during these Commotions, declared King, was grateful to Agesilaus

for the good Service he had done him.

After he had liv'd 84 years and reigned 41. Plut.

[†] Strabo mentions this Port of Menelaus, so call'd from Menelaus the Greecian, who coming into Athiopia, and from thence Sailing into Africa, came to Land with his Ships in the Coasts about Ardania, which from thence forwards took his Name.

LIFE

OF

EUMENES.

Done into English by Mr. Ch. Allestree, M. A. of Ch. Ch. Coll. Oxon.

Cardia; and so eminent for Personal Courage, that had his Fortune or Success been in any degree equal to it, he had not, 'tis true, been really Greater than he was (because we measure the Greatness of an Hero by his inward Virtue, and not by any outward circumstances of Fortune) but still he had been more Honourable and Illustrious, and Fame had render'd him more considerable in the Eye of the World. It was his unhappiness to be born in an Age wherein the Macedonians shourish'd, and were at that heighth

of Renown, as to eclipse his Merit; neither was it any small matter of Reproach and Detraction to him (who liv'd constantly amongst them) to be ignominiously upbraided with the Appellation of a Forreigner, and a Man descended of a mean Stock; and yet he Himfelf was the Chief of the Family he fprung from. So that, upon these reasons, they envy'd him the Glory of Precedence; and yet were forc'd to be content and submit to it : For he furpass'd them all, in the Qualifications of a Statesman, in Care, Industry, and Patience; in Subtilty of Contrivance, and Quickness of Invention. These endowments recommended him early to the acquaintance of King Philip; which in a very short time he improv'd into a most intimate Familiarity and Friendship; for as young as he was, there appear'd such a Genius, and Generous Spirit, as promis'd much future Greatness. So that the King Constituted him his Secretary; which is an Employment of greater Reputation and Honour amongst the Grecians than it is with the Romans; for we justly esteem Persons of that Character, as they really are, to be only Mercenary Scribes, and employ'd for Gain. But on the contrary, no Man was ever in Greece advanc'd to the Dignity of that Station, but fuch as were born of honest Parents, were of approv'd Integrity, and had Abilities

lities fit for the Service; and the reason is because their Office gives them Access to Princes, makes them necessarily acquainted with great Intrigues, and the fecret Meafures and Resolutions of all their Councils. He enjoy'd this Honour, and place in his Affection, during the last seven years of King Philip's Reign, and (after his Death was continued in the fame Character under Alexander the Great for thirteen more; and at last was preferr'd to Command that Wing of the Horse which was call'd the SOCIAL WING, from the Confederacy of the Allies that Constituted it. In fhort, he was Privy-Councellor to both. these Princes, and entrusted with the sole management of their Bufiness, and all matters of Importance.

When Alexander was Dead at Babylon, his Provinces came to be distributed equally to the several Officers who enjoy'd his Favour; it was Perdiccas's Fortune (since Craterus and Antipater, tho' more in esteem with Alexander, were absent at this Delegation; and Haphestion, whom Alexander lov'd as passionately as himself, was dead also) to have the Command or Superintendency of the Whole lodg'd in his hands; and this was conjectur'd by the Ring, that Alexander (when he lay Speechless) took from his Finger and gave, as a peculiar instance of his Kindness; intimating by this

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Pledg, that he nominated him Protector of the Empire, and entrusted the Govern-ment of his Dominions to his Conduct, whilft his Children were in their Minority, and remain'd under his Guardianship. In this Distribution of Provinces, the Government of Cappadocia fell to Eumenes's share, or rather was Affign'd to him; and the Tithe only of Lieutenant conferr'd upon him, the Country at that time being actually in poffession of the Enemy. It was the Policy of Perdiccas to make this Man his Friend and gain him to his interest, which he endeavour'd to accomplish by all the endearments imaginable, because he knew him industrious in the Employment of War, and unalterably true to the Principle of his first Engagement; prefuming with much reason and considence, that if he could move him to espouse his Cause, his Service would be more than ordinary inftrumental to bring about those great Affairs which he had then in hand; for he intended (that which almost all Men in Empire propose to themselves) an Universal Monarchy, and to grafp all Power in his hands. Neither was he fingle and alone in this defign upon the Soveraignty of the World; for the same lust of Power equally spread it self, and run through all the Governors of Atexander's Provinces; and accordingly we find Leonatus affecting the Command of Macedonia.

donia, and Attempting to invest himself in the Government of that Province; and in order thereunto, plying Eumenes with the bait of Preferment and proposals of Honour to desert Perdicess and make a strict League and Allyance with him; and when his Arguments and Promises were inessectival to corrupt his Honesty, or seduce him from the Friendship he bore Perdicess, he Treacherously sought his Death, and had certainly accomplished it, but that Eumenes privately made his escape by Night, and so

avoided the Danger.

In the mean time, whilft these ambitious Defigns were forming, feem'd to be lay'd the Foundation of those ensuing Wars, which (after Alexander's Death) ragid even to the Excision of the several Parties in the Contest; and all of them (as one Man) join'd themselves in a Confederacy, to suppress Perdiccas, and prevent his growing Greatness. Now, tho Eumenes was fenfible of the Danger of his Friend, and knew that he was unable to frem the Tyde, or with his fingle Forces over-power that formidable and united Body of Men that were rais'd against him, yet he would not defert him in extremity, but was more mindful of his Honour, than the confideration of his own fafety; Perdiccas had put him in a place of Trust, and Constituted him Governor of that part of Afia, count mercod every bigos of seed which

which lies betwixt Mount Taurus and the Helle pont, and fixt him commodiously at that Post, for the conveniency of stopping the Europians, and keeping them from falling in upon the Rear, whilst he in the mean time undertook an Expedition into Egypt, and defign'd to encounter Ptolomy. And yet Eumenes was left in no good condition to Fight, for the Troops he had with him were not confiderable either for Number or Courage, being for the most part raw and unexperienc'd, ignorant of all Discipline, and rais'd hastily from the Refuse of the People; So that when Craterus and Antipater (Men of Renown and Terror in the Art of War) were faid to have pass'd the Helle from, and advancing towards him with an Army of old Macedomian Soldiers (where by the way I must tell you, that these Macedonian Soldiers were thought as terrible in the Trade of War, as the Romans are now with us; for those are ever counted the best Soldiers. that are levy'd from that Country which is the Seat of the Empire) Eumenes was confident, that if his Men should know the Power and Strength of the Enemy; and against whom they were drawn out to Fight, they would be so far from going chearfully upon the Expedition, that they would drop down Dead with the news; It was his care therefore to preferve them in ignorance

rance of his design, and to lead them through unknown and by-roads, where no certain or authentick Intelligence could posfibly come to disabuse them; and to bear them in hand, that their Arms were to be employ'd against the Barbarians, to revenge the infolence of a fort of People, that had offer'd Affronts and acts of Hoffility to their Coantry: Acting therefore by these menfures of fecrefy, he had Marshall d and d f pos'd his Army in the best Array the World for the Engagement, and had quite ended the Battle, before ever the Soldiers knew their Adversaries, or against whom they drew their Swords; and yet it is to be confess'd, that this overthrow is to be ascribed to another reason, viz. to the advantageous choice he made of the ground, wherein his Horfe alone (which was the Strength of his Army) might bear the Onfet and Attack of the Enemy, and He not obliged to expose his Infantry to the Shock, which was very inconfiderable.

In this smart Conslict, which lasted almost till Night, Craterus the General, and Neoptolemus, who had the second place of Command in the Field, were both slain: Eumenes engaged Personally in the Fight with Neoptolemus; and so violent was their hatred and animosity to each other, that when their Grapling had disloded the Niders from their Horses, and thrown their

both to the Ground, they could not be difengag'd from their hold, or parted by any thing but the Death of one of the Combatants; fo that they feem to have bore an internal malice, and to have wag'd War principally in their Minds, and made their Bodies only Seconds and Infruments in the quarrel. In this Conflict Eumenes receiv'd fome fmall Wounds, but they were not fo dangerous as to induce him, for his Cure, to found a Retreat and leave the Field, but rather animated him to a fresh Pursuit, and a more vigorous Slaughter of the Enemy. So that when he had entirely routed the Horse, slain Craterus, and taken a vast number of Prisoners (of the best Rank and Quality in the Army), the Foot feeing themselves destitute of Succour, and lodg'd in fuch narrow places, where 'twas impoffible for them to make their escape with safety, furrender'd themselves upon Discretion, and pray'd for Quarter. They no fooner obtain'd this Grant of their Lives from Eumezes, but Treacherously, upon the first opportunity broke their Faith, and (contrary to the Engagement of Captives) revolted with as much speed as they were able to the Enemies Camp, and took part with Antipater. However Eumenes generously labour'd to recover Craterus from his Wounds, who was brought from the Field with some faint Breathings and figns of Life, to his Tent;

Tent; and when he saw that 'twas impossible for Art to cure him, out of deserence to the Character he bore, and to the Friendship that was once betwixt them (for they were intimate Companions in Alexander's Life-time), he Celebrated his Obsequies with great Pomp, and sent his Ashes to his

Wife and Children into Macedon.

Whilft the fe great Actions were Atchiev'd about the Hellespont, Perdiccas was treacherouflykill'd, in an Engagement upon the River Nite, by Selucus, and Antigonus; fo that the whole Administration of Affairs devolv'd upon Antipater. Here those who had deferted the Army, by a Council of War, were proclaim'd Traytors, and (tho' absent) condemn'd to lose their Heads. Amongst the number of those who lay under this hard Sentence, Eumenes was Chief; who was really disturb'd at the Injustice of his Fate, but not to that degree as to make him despond, or desist from the prosecution of the War. And yet this Proscription, tho' it might feem infignificant to affect a Man that was really in Arms, yet it had this effect, as to rebate the Greatness of that Courage which it was unable utterly to overthrow. Antigonus, (who was provided with good store both of Ammunition and Men) in pursuance to this Decree, follow'd Eumenes in the Rear, and gave some diffurbances to his Troops by small Skirmishes on the

the Road; but was never able to force him to a pitcht Battel, only in fuch narrow places, where a finall Party was fufficient to engage the Front of his whole Army. And yet at last, when he was not to be undermin'd by Policy or Prudence, he was fupplanted and almost ruin'd by the Trea-chery of a Multitude; but yet, even here, he extricated himself out of this difficulty; and, with the lofs of some of his Men, retir'd fafe to a Citadel in Phrygia, call'd' Nora; wherein he was so close besieg'd by Antigonus, and abridg'd of room to Air his Horses in, that he fear'd their diffuetude from Exercise would speedily breed a Murrain, and cause a destruction amongst them; fo that to prevent this inconvenience, he made use of an expedient, whereby they might in the same Stall procure a better Appetite to their Fodder, and yet not want the benefit of Riding. He devis'd this way; and ty'd their Heads so high to the Rack with Halters, that they could by no means touch the Earth with their forefeet; and then his Grooms, with the Di-fcipline of the Whip, laying on behind, oblig'd them to leap and kick backwards to revenge the stroke. This motion, or agitation of Body, caus'd as much Sweating as if they had been actually Breath'd in a Course. So that (what was the most wonder-ful thing of all) by this Management the Horses

Horses were brought from the Castle, after many Months Siege, as clean and in as good liking as if they had been air'd every day in the Fields. When he was thus block'd: up, as oft as he thought convenient, he made Incursions into the Enemies Camp, and either burnt or demolish'd the Fortifications and Entrenchments of Antigonus; but still he kept himself close in his Garrifon during the Winter feafon, because he could not in the Field have the Advantage of a Caftle for his Defence, and Shelter; but as foon as the Spring approach'd, under the pretence of yielding the place, and making Conditions of Peace, he impos'dupon Antigonus's Officers (who had the management of the Treaty) and deliver'd himfelf and his Soldiers both from the straitness and danger of the Siege.

To him Olympias, the Mother of Alexander, made her application, and address'd from Epirus (where she then dwelt) Letters to him into Asia, to importune his Aid, and desire his Assistance to recover Macedon, and invest her in the Possession of that Empire. Eumenes, in his Answer; advis'd her to desist from her Pretensions, or at least to wait the time, when the Son of Alexander should assume the Government; but if her Ambition should hurry her, against this Advice, to invade Macedon, by all means she ought to forget old Injuries, and

not exercise any Acts of Cruelty against her Subjects. She follow'd none of his Counfel; for She did go into Masedonia, and Reign'd there with all the Tyranny and Barbarity imaginable. So that her Government becoming generally odious, fhe was forc'd to write again to Eumenes, and befeech him not to fuffer the inveterate Enemies of her House to extirpate the very Race and Memory of Philip, but to bring speedy Relief to the poor Remains and Posterity of Alexander; which Request of hers, if it were fo reasonable as to be clos'd with, the further entreated him, to raife what Forces he could and bring to her Affistance; and that he might the more readily comply with this motion, for his Encouragement, she had already oblig'd all her Officers (who had not yet shook off their Allegiance) to obey him, and fubmit themselves to be regulated by his Orders. Eumenes was fo exalted with the Honour of his Employment, and Greatness of the Character he was put into, that he chose rather to embrace Death (if the Gods would have it fo) in a generous Return of the Service to his great Benefactor, than to live ignominiously, and with secu-rity, under the brand and appellation of Ingratitude.

Accordingly hemakes a new levy of Men, and prepares himself for a War against Antigonus; Now there were at that time seve-

ral of the Macedonian Nobility with him, and amongst them Peurestes, who was of the Bed-Chamber to Alexander, and had the Government of Persia conferr'd upon him, and Antigonus, who Commanded the Macedonian Phalanx; Eumenes thought it was impossible to decline envy, or prevent disgust, if He, who was a Stranger, fhould arrogate the Command, and prefer himself to be General in the Army, when there was fo vast a concourse and appearance of Macedonian Noblemen with him; and yet being unwilling to be laid afide from the Employment, he takes a middle way to avoid the danger; he erells a Pavilion in the Camp, and calls it by the name of Alexander's Tent; and there orders all the Royal Furniture of a Golden Throne, a Scepter, and a Diadem, to be plac'd where the Officers met constantly to treat of public Affairs, the negotiation of War; being of opinion, that by this means he should not be oppress'd with Envy, if under the pretence and umbrage of Alexander's name, he: carry'd on the War; which point he ac-complished according to his design; for when the principal Officers metand concerted their measures seemingly at the Royal Pavilion, and not at Eumenes his Tent, his Superiority in a manner was conceal'd, and yet in effect he manag'd the whole Business of the Confult. When

When the point of Precedency was in this manner accomodated. Eumenes met Antigonus, and had an encounter with him in Paratacis; not in a formal pitcht Battle, where the whole Army was engaged, but in small Skirmishes by Parties, where Antigonus was conftantly worsted, and obliged to retire to his Winter Quarters in Media; He in the mean time lodg'd his Forces in the Country of Persia, not as if he had chose the place for any advantage to himself, but the obstinacy of his Soldiers obliged him to it; for that Wing of his Army (with which Atexander over-run Asia, and Conquer'd Persia) were so insolent with the fense of their former Victories, and the Glory they Atchiev'd there, that they thought it their Business to Command, and not Follow their Leaders. Which really is the true character of our Veterans; and there is this danger in employing either of them, for fear their unruliness and untractable Spirit should have this effect of destroying all before 'em, and their pride turn as prejudicial to their own Party, as their Valour is fatal to the Enemy; and if any one will take the pains to examine and compare the Actions of both, he must necessarily find a great parity and resemblance betwixt them, and no other difference but in point of time. But to return from this Digression; Eumenes Quarter'd ter'd his Men in Posts, not convenient for the Business of War, but accommodate to the Luxury of his Soldiers, and for this end they lay fcatterr'd in the Country, in no order at all, but at a great distance from each other. Antigonus was fensible of the disorder they were in, and withal conscious of his inability to Attack them with Success, if they were form'd into a Body, or put in a posture to receive him, and therefore chang'd his Measures of Assaulting them openly, and upon warning, and took new refolutions, of doing it by furprize. There were two ways leading from his Winter Quarters in Media, to his Enemies Camp on the other fide, the one of them was fhort, exactly in a line, and lay cross the Country, where there was nothing but Defart and uninhabitable places, by reason of draught and the penury of water, and was only ten easie days journey at the most; The other, which was the more beaten Tract, went round about in a circumference, and was much the longer paffage, but still had all the conveniences and accommodations of Travel. He forefaw, that if he undertook to pass in the more publick Road, the Enemy must neceffarily be upon their Guard, and have intelligence of his March, before he had accomplish'd the third part of his Journey; but if he moved with his Army, in a straight line,

line, thro' the Defart part of the Country, he might have hopes to oppress them unawares, and unprovided for his coming; upon this Resolution he order'd several Pitchers and Vessels of water to be prepar'd, and a great deal of Provinder to be in readiness; and then took care for his Soldiers, that there should be Bread and Victuals enough bak'd, to serve for ten days; and this hedid, because he would not be put to the necessity of making sires upon every occasion of Eating, for fear the Enemy should discover his approach at a distance, and he should have the secret of his Journey betray'd.

In this Equipage, he fets forward and begins the Campaign, who, notwithstanding this care, had not Travell'd above half the way, but from the Smoak in his Tents, and the Duft which his Army rais'd, Eumenes had great reason to suspect that the Enemy was nigh. A Council of War is therefore presently call'd, to consult what was fitting to be done in this Exigence: It was the Judgment of most that were prefent, that their Troops could not be imbodied or collected, so soon as Antigonus, with the swiftness of his March, would be upon them; at this debate (when almost the whole Council were at a loss, and despair'd of any expedient of Safety) Eumenes affured the Board, That if they would use Diligence and obey Orders, which hitherto they abso-

absolutely refus'd, he would even bring things to a happy Issue; for whereas the Enemy might ear sily approach them in five days time, he would order matters fo, that he should be retarded full as long, and be put back ten; wherefore, says he, let every Officer go his Round, and collect the Soldiers that belong to his Company, and that lye scatter'd and dispers'd at large in the Country: Now this was the project that he us'd, to put a stop to Antigonus his Motion and divert his course; He Commanded a Party of Men to lodge themselves at the Foot of the Mountains, where the Enemy was to pass, and at the beginning of the Night, to make large Fires, and extend them very wide in the Front, but to diminish the number and make them less in the fecond Row, and so proportionably small in the third and hindmost Flank, that so, by this refemblance and fhew of a Camp, the Enemy might be induc'd to think, his design was discover'd, that they were alarm'd at his approach, and moved their Tents, in order to meet him in the Road and give him Battle in the Defart; This task the Officers were to renew every Night; who according to their inftructions perform'd their charge; Antigonus by this piece of fubtility was deluded; who, as foon as it was dark, observ'd the fires, and fell into a Belief, that these were really the Tents of his Enemies, and that the whole

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whole Army was Rendezvous'd and Encamp'd there to Fight them; fo that he chang'd his resolution, and fince he saw himself Defeated of his Design, and could not possibly surprize them in Disorder, he turn'd his Course, and took the longer pasfage, which lay round about the Hills in a fruitful Soil, and tarry'd a day or two in the Country, to ease and refresh his Soldiers (that were tyr'd with Fatigue) and to give rest to his Horses; that after such a Respit and Recruit, both Man and Beast might be in a better condition to oppose the Enemy, and more vigorously maintain the Fight.

By this Stratagem Eumenes over-reach'd the Policy of the General, and prevented the fuddainness of his Attack; and yet it was without any real advantage to himfelf in the end; for fuch was the Envy of his Officers that maligned his Glory, and fo great was the perfidiousness of the Veteran Soldiers, that tho' in a brave Engagment (when they had put things to a push) they returned Conqueror from the Field, and gain'd fignal Trophies of Victory, yet they deliver'd their General Prisoner, and in Chains, to Antigonus; and this Treachery they acted, after they had thrice Religioully Sworn to defend him with their Lives and Fortunes, and never to defert his cause; but so predominant was their envy above

above the confideration of their Oaths, or the obligation of their Fidelity, that they chose rather to violate their Faith, than not turn Instruments of his Ruin and Betray him. Antigonus had certainly spar'd his Life (tho' he was his most mortal and inveterate Enemy in the World) if his Council could have bin induc'd to have given way to it; because he knew, that no Man Living could be more ferviceable to him in the management of the Bufiness of War, which he had then in hand, and faw a necessity of continuing it; for both Seleucus, Lysumachus, and Ptolemy, (who were all Men of Power and Strength) were ready to oppress his Grandeur, and contend with him for Soveraignity and the prize of Empire; But those who were of Antigonus his Council, would not suffer such a failure in Politicks, as to be willing to have his Life preserv'd, whose promotion in a little time would certainly supplant their Esteem, and render them inconfiderable in the Army; and besides, Antigonus himself was so enrag'd against him, for the Outrages he had done, and the havock that was made in the Army, that there was no hopes of his reconciliation, or pacifying his Anger, unless he had an affurance of a full compensation by future Services in War.

When he was therefore committed to Custody, and the Governor of the Prison

ask'd Antigonus, in what manner he would have him kept, With the same care, fays he, as you would keep a wild Lyon, or the fiercest Elephant, under the strictest Guard: For he had not yet determin'd with himfelf, whether he would preferve his Life or no; Now there came all forts of People to visit Eumemes in his Misfortune; some, out of hatred, to glut their Eyes with the fight, and Triumph over him in Affliction; Others, upon the account of Friendship, that formerly had bin betwixt them, went to comfort him in his Advertity, and pay their Complement of Condolance to him; but the greatest number came out of Curiosity to contemplate his form, and to know the fhape and figure of the Man, to be able to remember and talk to their Acquaintance that they had feen the Person, whom so long and fo juftly they had frood in dread of, and in whose destruction all their hopes of Victory and Peace were plac'd; Eumenes (whose Spirit was troubled more at the impertinence of the Vifits, than at the Grief of his Confinement) told Onomarchus, one day in Company, when he had bin long in Prison, That he wondered, be had bin kept three days without Death or Releasement; that it was not sutable to the methods of Prudence to use a Captive so, but that Antigonus ought either to Execute him presently, or dismiss him safe, loaded with apprehensions of Gratipude to his Friends.

Friends. Onomarchus, startled at the boldness of this Discourse, What? fays he, If you really have this Courage and Bravery which you pretend, why did you not chuse rather, to dye Honourably in the Field, than fall ignominiously into the hands of your Enemy? Oh! would God, Says Eumenes, this had bin in my Power or Choice; but this could not possibly be my Face, for I never in all my Life-time had the Glory to Encounter a Braver Man than my felf, and n contested the point of Valour with any Hero yes but forc'd him to yield and own me the Conqueror; and now tho' I am basely in your Power, yet my ignoming is to be ascribed to the Treachery of my Friends, and not to the Prowefs of my Adverfary. Neither was any thing of this Difcourse, tho' it seem'd a Rant, false; for he had both a Majesty in his presence, that ftruck an awe and terror into the Beholder, and fuch a Gigantick firmnels in his make and Limbs, as feem'd to be composid only for Work and Labour, and yet there was fuch a Symmetry for proportion of parts; as render'd him both August and Comely.

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Antigonus durst not hastily and alone determine of this Man's Fate, but left his Case to the Consideration and Wisdom of his Council: Here many of the Board stood astonish'd at the neglect of Justice, and wondered that Execution was not presently done upon an Enemy, who for many years had laid waste and ravaged their Country, slain the chief of their K

Commanders, and put such a Terror and Consternation among st the Rest, that they had bin brought even to extremity and despair; and if the Sense of these Injuries is not sufficient to justify or provoke his Ruin, yet let the Danger of his Person weigh something towards his Death: As long as he is in Being, there can be no security for our Preservation, but we shall be constantly afraid, left he (hould be violently releas'd from his Prison to head a Mutiny or Sedition in the Camp; but at his Death thefe dangers cease, and there can be no apprehension of Disturbance to be rais'd from his Ashes; but however, purfued they, if Antigonus was inclined to give him Life, they humbly entreated to know, how be would new model his Council, or where he would find Officers to have place there; for with Eumenes none of the old Gommanders would either Correspond, or joyn Interests, or be at the same Board together. Tho' the Sentiments of the Council were in this manner made known, yet Antigonus takes feven days time to deliberate and pronounce his Doom; and then fearing an Infurrection might be caus'd by the delay of Execution, he orders his Warders to be remov'd, his daily sustenance to be withdrawn, and forbids all Mankind his Presence (for still he would not offer violence to the Man who once had bin his Friend) that so he might Perish with Famine, without involving others in the Guilt of his Blood; and yet Eumenes

Eumenes after three days languishment with hunger, when his Spirits were impair'd and funk, unknown, and without order from Antigonus, was kill'd by his Keepers, to prevent the care of tending him, in following

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Thus Eumenes (who, as we told you before, at twenty years of Age, was receiv'd at Court withal possible demonstration of kindness, who for the space of seven years was a conftant Favourite and Attendant to King Philip, and afterwards was admitted to the same place in Alexander's esteem, and enjoyed it thirteen years more, to that degree, that in his time, he was conflituted Master of the Horse in the SOCIAL AR-MY, who also, after his Death, was Commander in Chief of the whole Army, and either repelled the violence of his encroaching Competitors, or flew them in the Fight, maintaining the Boundaries and just Limits of their Power, thus I fay, Died this Great Commander, in the Forty Fifth Year of his Age, and fella Victim to the Treacheryof his Soldiers, rather than overcome by the Prowess of Antigonus. It is easy to judge, what opinion the Officers (who stiled themselves Kings after Alexander's Death) had of this Man's Merit and Valour, by this fingle inftance of their Pride; since, in his Life-time, they durft not affume that iwelling Title, but were content with the Name K 2 and

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and Appellation of Prafects; but after his Fall, took the Honour of the Name, and all the outward Ornaments that belong to Soveraignty and a Crown'd Head; neither did they perform what was the pretence and Ground of War, The Office of Guardian-(hip, or feek to preserve the Kingdoms for Alexander's Legitimate or Natural Iffue: But as foon as Eumenes, the only Defender and Afferter of their Cause was gone, they hew'd themselves openly in their own Colours, and that their defign was principally to raise and aggrandize themselves: In this Conspiracy against Eumenes, Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, were chiefly concern'd, and paffionately fought his Ruin; however Antigonus had this Honour in him, to give the Corps to. be Buried by his Relations. Who performed his Funeral Rites in a Military Pomp, with the Attendance of the whole Army at his Hearfe; and after this Ceremony was over, transmitted his Urn into Cappadocia, to be Religiously kept by his Wife and Children, and preferv'd there,

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By the Property and Land

THE LIFE o F PHOCION

Done into English by Mr. Todd, Fellow of University Coll. Oxon.

Was many times * Chief Commander of the Forces of his Country, and One who bore the highest Offices in the City; yet is He much more known for Integrity and Agreeableness of Life, than for any Military Exploits. Hence 'tis, there is no account of These upon Record, but very much said of his exact way of Living, and other popular Qualities, which gave him the Sirname of The Beneficent.

^{*} Forty five times, says Plutarch, before ever he was free of the City. He was the Darling of the People, while out of favour with the Government.

He wasnever Rich, tho' the several Places of Honour and Profit freely given him by the People might have plentifully fill'd his Coffers. When King Philip is presented him with a vast sum of Money, and by his Ambassadors press'd Him earnestly to accept it; advising Him withal, That tho' he for his own part, might easily dispense with the want of it; yet he ought to be concern'd for the good of his Children, to whom it might be difficult in a low Ebb of Fortune, to maintain the Greatness of their Father's Character: He generously refus'd the Present, and told them, If my Children prove such as my self, then that small parcel of Ground will keep them, that has advanc'd me to this: But if they degenerate, I should be loth their Luxury should be supported or encouraged at my Provision.

When he had enjoy'd a continu'd feries of Prosperity, till very near the Eightieth. Year of his Age; in his latter Days he grew extreamly out of favour with his Fellow-Citizens. Twas laid to his Charge,

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which was conferr'd upon nim, lay sand norry thep he head to reliev'd many indigent Citizens and contributed to provide for their Children.

[†] Plusareb says, it was his Son Alexander that fent this Gift, as a Reward for the good service he had done him, in keeping Athens true to his Interest while he was upon his Asian Expedition. The sum was 100 Talents, about 8000 pound English.

that he conspir'd with Demades to deliver up the City to Antipater: And by his Advice; Demosthenes, and the rest, whom they now look'd upon as Persons that deserved well of the Commonwealth, were by Decree of Common-Council Banish'd. Nor was Male-administration his only Crime; they accused him for violating the common Obligations of Friendship: For, whereas he had been advanc'd, to those Honour which he had, by the Eloquence and Inte rest of Demosthenes; and particularly when he took his part against Cares, * in a Capital Caufe, had been defended by him, and clearly brought off in open Court; He did not only not defend Demosthenes, but as was faid, perfidiously betray'd him. But the Crime that most of all caus'd his Ruin was this; When the Government of the City was in his hands, and he had notice given by Dercyllus, + that Nicanor, Caffander's Lieutenant General, had a design to furprise Piraus; and also was defired to take special Care, that the City should not want Provision: He said publickly in the hearing of the People, that there was no K 4 dange

this Place. the Land-fide, of the

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^{*} An Athenian Captain, who went to affift the Byzantines against King Philip; but managing Affairs imprudently, he was call'd Home, and Phocias tent in his Place.

danger at all; and promis'd them that He would engage his Life for their fecurity. Not long after, Nicanor took Piraus: And, when the People rose in Arms to regain it (without the Possession of that Fort, Athens cannot long subsist) he not only neglected to Summon the rest of the Citizens to their Assistance, but resus'd to put himself at the head of those that were ready to make the Assault.

At that time, there were two Factions in Athens; One stood for the Liberties of the People, the other (amongst whom were Phocion and Demetrius Phalerus *) afferted the Prerogatives of the Nobility: Both courted the Protection and Favour of the Macedonians; for the Chief of the Popular Party savour'd Polypercon; † the Nobles sided with Cassander. During these Heats, Polypercon drove Cassander out of Macedonia. By this Victory the People getting the upper Hand, immediately Condemn'd all the Heads of the opposite Faction, and Banish'd them the City: Amongst whom

The one General (searny ds) and the other a Captain (21 ling X 9-) in Antipater's Army: Upon whose Death the, fell out betwirt themselves, and by their Interest divided in Athenians.

A famous Athenian General, who persuaded Ptolemy King of Egypt to have the Holy Bible translated out of Hebrew into Greek, by the LXXII. Fes. Ant. lib. 12. c. 2.

whom were Phocion and Demetrius Phalerus. This done, they dispatch an Express to Polypercon about the Business, and desire him that he would confirm their Decree *; Phocion understanding this, went thither in Person, and as soon as he appear'd, order was given that he should plead his own Cause, in form indeed before King i Philip, but in effect before Polypercon; for He was, at that time, Protestor of the Kingdom. One Agnonides accus'd him, that he had betrayed Piraus to Nicanor, and thereupon by Order of Council he was committed to a Messenger, and remanded to Athens, that he might be proceeded against according to the Laws of his own Country.

At his entrance into the City, (by reafon of an Impediment in his feet, he being forc'd to be carried in a Coach) there was a great concourse of People to see Him. Some, remembring the greatness of his former Renown, extreamly pitied his old Age: Many, were highly exasperated against him, upon suspicion of Treason about the business of the Fort: But, that which enraged them most was, that now in his latter days.

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^{*} Inoughas Plup.

Phillippus Arridaus, an Esseminate, weak Prince.

A violent bawling Lawyer, who run down Phosion with noile and clamour: And was arret-wards, when the Arbenians better understood themselves, condemn'd for his pains.

he should so much oppose the Liberties of the People. When he came to the Bar, they would not give him leave to plead his own Cause, but after a slight formality of Juflice, publickly condemn'd him, and deliver'd him to the Eleven, to whom according to the Custom of the Athenians, the public Execution of the Traitors does belong. As he was drawn to the place of * Execution. Emphyletus, formerly an intimate Achis Eyes cry'd out; O Phocion! How Unjust and unworthy are these punishments thou endurest? They may be Unjust, reply'd the. Prisoner, but they are not in the least Unexpetted; for very many Eminent Athenians, have gone this way to their Deaths. The Odium of the Mobile was fo violent, that no Free-man durst bury him: Therefore his Body was interr'd by Slaves. *

THE

*'Twas on the nineteenth day of March, which was a Festival in Honour of Jupiter, that the

punishments might be more exemplary.

the Plintarchi says, that one Conopin, a Common Officer burnt his Body, and that an old Woman gather'd up his Bones and Buried them with this Wish. O Athenians, when you return to your Wits, give these Bones a more Honourable Burial. It happened accordingly, for within a short time finding their Error, in taking off to brave a Man, Theyreversed the Sentence, solemnly Interr'd his Body, Erected a Statue in Honour of him at the publick cost; and condemn'd or banished all that had any hand in his Accusation.

LIFE

TIMOLEON.

-Si Done into English by Mr. Cary, M. A. of St. Mary-Hall Oxon.

was without doubt, in the general esteem of the World, a very Eminent Man; for he had the happiness to which sew or none could arrive, of freeing his Native Country from the oppression of a Tyrant, of redeeming the City of Syracuse, to whose assistance he was sent from a long continued Bondage, and of restoring all Sicily to its former condition, which had been long harrass'd by War, and the inhumane usage of the * Barbarians. But in the managing of all those Assairs, he met with many different Adventures; and what

⁺ Dne Carthaginians.

what is thought to be the hardest encounterof the two, he behav'd himself rather the more discreetly in his Prosperity, than in his Adverfity. For when his Brother Timophanes, who was made General by the Corinthians, by the help of his Mercenary Soldiers had invaded the Soveraignty, and Timoleon might have hada share in the Royalty with him, He was fo far from abetting any fuch piece of Villany, that he put a much greater value upon his Fellow-Citi-zens Liberty, than he did upon his Brother's Life; and look'd upon himself infinitely more oblig'd to live in obedience to the Laws of his Country, than to rule over it. Being a Man of these Principles, he contriv'd to have his Brother the Tyrant Murther'd by a certain Southfayer, and another who was related to 'em both, as having Married their own Sifter both by Father and Mother. In which Murther he was so far from having any hand, that he would not fo much as look upon his Brother's Bloodshed. For while the thing was putting in Execution by them, he took a Post at a distance, that none of his Life-Guard might come to his Rescue. This notable Action of his, was not look'd upon by all with the same Eyes, for some took it to be a Breach of Piety, and by a Sinister Interpretation represented, the whole matter as unwarrantable. Nay, his Mother, after this would never let himone sales come

come within her Doors, nor as much as admit him into her presence; but out of a detessation of the Fact, would brand him with the name of unnatural Assassine of his Prince, and Brother. At the hearing of which Words, he was so mightily concern'd, that he had sometimes thoughts of being his own Executioner, and by imbracing Death to abandon the fight of an un-

grateful World.

In the mean while, after Dion was flain at Syracufe, Dionyfius made himfelf again Mafter of the Town; But they of the contrary Party, Petition'd the Corinthians for fuccour, and defired a General over their Forces. In which Expedition, Timoteon was fent. and with wonderful fuccefs, beat Dionyfus quite out of Sicily, yet spar'd his Life, when it was in his Power to have taken it away ; and took particular care to fee him fafely convey'd to the City of Corintb, which had been frequently supported by the Aid and Affistance it received from both the Dionysis. Of which Favour Timoleon was willing to leave a Memorial; effeeming that Conquest much more Honourable, which had in it more of Mercy than Cruelty. In aWord, he fent him thither alive, that the World might not receive it by Tradition only, but be Eve-witneffes, what a Perfonage he had reduc'd, from fo great an Empire to fo mean a condition. After Dionyfius's departure. Timowho had acted contrary to Dionysius's Interest, not so much out of dislike or hatred of his Tyranny, as out of private Interest, as was plain from his unwillingness to quit his Command, when Dionysius was deposed. Iteras being deseated, Timoleon routed a very formidable Army of the Carthaginians at the River Crimessus, and oblig'd them to rest contented, if they might be permitted to hive quietly in Africk, who for many years past had been in possession of Sicily. Besides all this, he took Mamercus an Italian Commander Prisoner, a very Warlike Man, and one of great interest, who had come over into Sicily to the Assistance of the Tyrants.

These things being happily Atchiev'd, and finding by a long continuance of War, that not only Countries, but Cities also were depopulated, he drew together all possible Recruits, first of the Sicilians, then of new Planters which he brought over from Corinth, because the City Syracuse. was by them Originally Founded. To the old Inhabitants he restor'd their own; he divided among those of the new Plantation, the Estates of such whose owners had been lost in the Wars; he repair'd the ruinated Cities, and Demolish'd Temples; he Erected anew the several States upon their old Laws and Liberties; and after a most dread-

ful War, fettled fo great a Peace and Quiet through the whole Island, that he might rather he taken for the Founder of those Cities; than they who had at first Planted 'em. The Citadel of Syracuse which Dyonysius had Fortified, on purpose to block up the Town, he eraz'd from the very Foundation, flighted all other Bulworks of Tyrannical Government, and did what in him lay, that as few marks of Bondage as could might remain. Having fo great Power, that he could have extorted obedience from them, and again being fuch a Favourite of all the Sicilians, that he might have come to the Crown, by a unamimous Confent, he chose rather to be Belov'd than Fear'd. Therefore as foon as conveniently he could. he laid down his Command, and pass'd the remaining part of hisLife there, as a private Person. And this was not done unadvisedly; for he maintain'd that Grandeur and Authority thro' a mutual good will, which other Princes could never compass by Force. Every Man paid him conftantly a very great Respect, and no publick Bufiness was ever after Transacted at Syracuse, of which any Decree was made, before Timoteon's Sense of the matter was understood. No Mans Counsel was ever preferr'd before his, nor as much as flood in Competion with it. And fo to do was not more their Affection, than Wifdom

When he was grown old; he loft his Eyefight; which Affliction he bore with fo much Patience, that he was never heard to complain of it, nor was yet less useful in private concerns or public Affairs. For he came to the Theatre, when the People met there in Counsel, drawn by a pair of Mules, by reason of his infirmities, * and so from the Coach deliver'd his opinion concerning the matter in debate, which no Body look'd:
upon as a piece of Pride in him, for never
did any thing like Infolence or Vain Glory come out of his Mouth. If at any time he had heard himfelf magnified, he would only reply, that he did fignally blefs the Gods, and was bound upon that particular account to be always thankful, for that, when the Gods were graciously pleas'd to raise Syracuse, they made choice of him as their unworthy Instrument. For he thought, that no humane. Actions were brought to perfection without an over-ruling Providence. And therefore he Erelled a priwate Chappel in his House to Fortune, where he with much Constancy and Zeal paid his Devotions

Besides this most excellent temper of his, several remarkable Accidents concurred to sender him samous. For all his most memorable Battles happen'd to be fought up-

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He was Aged, Blind, and had the Gour-

on the Day on which he was born; fo that it fell out, that all Sicily made their Anniversary Feafts on his Birth-day. When one Laphystius, an inconsiderable, sawcy, and ungrateful Fellow, requir'd flipulati- . on of him for an appearance, under colour of an Action that he had against him; and the Multitude flocking together, endeavour'd forcibly to curb the pretender's info-lence; Timoleon beseech'd 'em to desiff; Alledging, that he had gone thro' great hardfhips, and extream dangers, chiefly upon the Account, that Laphystius and others might enjoy their Liberty. For the true: Nature of Freedom is, that any one may try out whatever Cause he has by due Course of Law. When another Fellow, much like Laphystius, Demanerus by Name, in a Harangue before all the People Affembled in Counsel, had detracted from the Glory of Timoleon's Actions, and had sharply inveigh'd against him, he made no other Anfwer, but that he now found that his Prayers were heard; For he had ever made it his humble Request to the Gods, that the Syracusians might enjoy such a Liberty, whereby every one might be free, to speak his Sentiments of whom he pleas'd. When he dy'd he was interr'd at the pulbick charge of the Syracusians (in an Academy, which had its denomination from him) all finely attending his Funeral. AN

An Account of the most Famous Kings.

These were in a manner, all the Gracian Commanders, whose Memory deserves to be perpetuated, excepting such as were Kings: For I purposely omit them here; because all their Famous Acts have been related in a distinct Treatise already: Nor indeed were there very many of these.

Agesilaus the Lacedamonian had rather the Title of a King than the Power, which also may be faid of the other Spartan Kings Among those who possessed the Imperial Power, the chief place, I reckon, is due to Cyrus King of the Persians, and Darius Son of Hystaspis, who from a private Station, raised themselves to the Empire by their own Worth. Cyrus was slain in Battle by the Massagetes; Darius expired in Old Age: There were three others of the fame flock, viz. Xerxes and the Two Artuxerxes's, the one Named Macrochier, or Longimanus, the other Mnemon. The greatest Glory of Xerxes was, that he invaded Greece both by Sea and Land, with the most prodigious Armies that ever were heard of. Longimanus was much admired for being a proper and handsom Perfon, and this fet off with Warlike Bravery; beyond imagination, being the stoutest and ftrongest Man in Persia; but Mnemon was most Renowned for his Justice, in that when

when he lost his Wife, by the wicked Practices of his own Mother, his Grief for the former did not transport him into forgetfulness of his Duty to the latter. Of these; the Two Artaxerxes's Died by Difeases: The third, viz. Xerxes, was murdered by Artabanus, the Prefect.

Among the Macedonians there were two who far outshone all the rest in the Glory of their Atchievements: viz. Philip the Son of Amyntas, and Alexander the Great. lexander Died of a Distemper at Babylons Philip was Slain by one Pausanias at Aga, near the Theatre, as he was going to fee the Sports. There was but one King of Epirus of any Note, viz. Pyrrhus, who Warred against the Romans, he was killed by a blow of a Stone, as he was belieging a Town in the Peloponnesus. Also one there was of Sicily, viz. Dionyfius the first, a Man of good Courage and Expert in War, and, which is a rarity in Kings, was not addifted either to Uncleanness, Luxury, or Avarice, or to any inordinate Paffion, but only that of absolute and perpetual Dominion; in pursuit of which he was very Cruel, and spared no Mans Life whom he did but suspect to be in a Design against him: With great Valour he got the Soveraignty, in great Prosperity he kept it, and at above Sixty Years of Age he left a flourishing Kingdom behind him; and what

194 An Account of the KINGS.

is very remarkable, in so many years space, he never saw a Funeral in his own Family, tho' he had Children by Three Wives, and a ve-

ry numerous Off-spring.

There were also many Kings, of the Favorites of Alexander the Great; who arose presently upon his Death. Among these were Antigonus, and his Son Demetrius; Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolomy. Antigonus, Fighting against Seleucus and Lysimachus, was Slain in Battle; in like manner was Lysimachus Slain by Seleucus; for after they had been Confederates, they fell to War between themselves. But Demetrius, after he had given his Daughter in Marriage to Seleucus, (which yet could not keeps them fast Friends long) was taken Prisoner, the Father-in-law by his Son-in-law, and in that Condition he Died.

Not long after, Seleucus was Treacherously kill'd by Ptolomy Ceraunus, to whom he had given kind Protection when he was expell'd Alexandria by his own Father, and destitute of all Help; but the same Ptolemy is reported to have been put to Death by his own Son, to whom in his Life time he had delivered up his Kingdom. But having said enough of these, it may seem sit in the next place to take some notice of Hamiltan and Hannibal; who were two such instances of Greatness of Mind, and a Prosound Wisdom, that nothing was ever born in Africa, that came near them.

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HAMIL CAR.

Done into English by Mr. Brideoke, M. A. of Trin. Coll. Oxon.

an, Sirnam'd Barcas, the Son of Hannibal, at the later end of the first Punic War, the then very young, was Constituted Generalissimo of the Forces in Sicily. In which Employment he behav'd himself so well, that (the before his time the Carthaginian Army was always worsted, both by Sea and Land) he still kept his Ground, and was so vigilant, that his Enemies could never find him unprovided; but on the contrary, when opportunity serv'd, would fall upon them, and always made himself

Master of the Field. Moreover, when the Carthaginians by their ill fuccess had very near lost all footing in Sicily, he so prudent-ly defended the City Eryx, as not to leave the least fign of a War behind him. But in the interim, C. Lutatius, the then Roman Conful, having beaten the Carthaginian Fleet at the Islands Ægates, the Carthaginians refolv'd to Conclude the War, and to that end made Hamiltar their Plenipotentiary. Who, the naturally more inclined to War than Peace, yet in that Juncture of Affairs, He prefer'd Peace; because his Country, being then poor, could no longer endure the hardships and expences of War; yet he referv'd this to himfelf, that as foon as the Carthaginians were a little refreshed, again to renew the War, and by Arms oppose the Romans until Fortune had determin'd the Conquest. With this resolution he concluded the Peace; in the fetling whereof, He was fo fout, that when Carulus refus d to fign the Articles, unless He, with the whole Garrison of the City Eryx, would depart Sicily without their Arms; He bravely and sharply replyed, that the' his Country being poor, could yield him no affiftance, yet he would rather dye, than return to his home, with fuch Ignominy and Reproach. For it would not confift with his Valour, tamely to deliver up to nis Enemies those Weapons which were commitcommitted to his Trust for the defence of his Country. Upon this his Resolution Catu-

lus comply'd.

But Hamilcax, so soon as he arriv'd at Carthage, found the Commonwealth in a condition worse than he expected. For by the long-continuance of the Foreign War, Intestine discords were so much heightn'd, that Carthage was never in the like dangerous condition, unless when it was quite raz'd and demolish'd. For the Mercenary Soldiers, who were Twenty Thousand strong, and (who had formerly fought against tht Romans) Revolting, drew all Africa to their Party, and likewise besieged Carthage. By which great misfortune the Carthaginians were so Terrify'd, that they fought for Aid and Protection from their greatest Enemies, the Romans, and obtain'd their Request. But in fine, when they were almost reduc'd to the utmost extremities of misery and despair, they voted Hamilcar their General. Who not only made those Rebels, who were above Twenty Thousand, to raise their siege from before Carthage, but also forc'd them to that extremity, that shutting them up in places where they were void of all relief, more perish'd by Famine than were kill'd by the Sword. He brought back again the revolted Towns to their former Duty and Obedience; and amongst the rest, Utica and Hippo,

Hippo, the two wealthiest Cities of Africa. Neither was He satisfied with this; but he also enlarged the Empire, and all Africk was so settled, that none could imagine that there had been any War there for ma-

ny years before.

These things being finish'd by him so successfully, out of a couragious and an exasperated mind against the Romans, and that He might more handsomely pick a Quarrel with them, he contriv'd, that he himself should go Commander, with an Army into Spain, taking along with him his young Son Hannibal, then but nine years old. With him marcht Hasdrubal, that Beautiful and brave Youth, whom fome think to have been belov'd too much by Hamilcar, in a manner not allowed to his Sex : For great Men seldom escape ill Men's malicious Tongues. And upon this account, the Youth Hasdrubal was forbid by the Cenfor to attend the General. But Hamiltar giving his Daugh-ter in Marriage to Hasdrubal, found out that way, as the best expedient, of enjoying the Youth's Company; for their Laws did not forbid the Son-in-law to converse with his Father. I thought this passage worthy of my notice, because when Hamilcar was kill'd, he Commanded the Army, and was Successful in many remarkable Exploits; and during his Command, by large Gifts

Gifts he so corrupted the ancient manners of the Carthaginians, that after his Death Hannibal receiv'd his Power from the Army.

Hamilcar, after he had gross'd the Sea. and enter'd Spain, with great success undertook vast Designs; he subdu'd the most Warlike, and the wealthieft Countries: and furnished all Africa with Men and Horses, Arms and Mony. But as He was defigning a War on Italy, in the ninth year after his entrance into Spain, Fighting against the Vettones, He was unfortunately flain. implacable hatred against his Enemies the Romans, was the chief cause of the second Punick War; for his Son Hannibal was fo exasperated by the daily and repeated Conjurations of his Father, that he often declar'd, that he had rather perish, than not try the Courage of the Romans.

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Son of HAMILCAR.

Done into English by the Honourable Mr. Leopold William Finch, Fellow of All-Souls Coll. Oxon.

S 'tis a Truth of undoubted Certainty, That the Romans did exceed all other People in Bravery, fo likewise must it be confest, That Hannibal was as far above all other Commanders for his Wisdom and Conduct,

as the Roman Valour was more eminent than that of all different Nations. For during the whole time that Italy was the Seat of his Action, Success continually waited on his Arms; infomuch, that had not the Envy of his Enemies at home unfortunately hindred his Progress abroad, He feems to have been fufficiently able to have made an absolute Conquest over the Roman Empire. But too numerous were his Detracting Foes. to be Encounter'd by the Gallantry of a fingle Person. He so improv'd the Hatred that his Father bore the Roman Nation, and which was in a manner Hereditary to Him. that He would fooner have parted with his Life, than in the least have abated of his Aversion to that People. For tho' he lay under the unhappy Circumstances of a Banished Man, and consequently was obliged to Foreign Princes for their affiftance, yet He never ceas'd (at least in his intention) to wage War with the Romans. Not to instance in King Philip (whom he render d an Enemy to that Nation, tho he had not the advantage of Confulting with him in Perfon) He posses'd King Antiochus, a Prince of the greatest Strength and Power of those times, with fo eager a defire of making War upon them, that he raifed the whole Force of his Empire, as far as the Red Sea, with a defign to Invade Italy. To this Antiochus it was, that Embaffadors were fent from

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from Rome, to the intent they might inform themselves of his Resolutions, and use all possible endeavors, by underhand Policies to bring Hannibal into suspicion with the King, by affuring Him, that (as if they had withdrawn him from his Fidelity) He now espous'd a quite different Interest than He had formerly ferved. They effected this with no small Success, as Hannibal soon perceiv'd, when he found that He was curn'd out of the Privy Council; fo that at a convenient time, He first waits on the King, and having put him in mind of his great Loyalty to him, and his Hatred to the Roman People, he added over and above, When I was a Boy of about nine years of Age, my Father Hamilcar being upon his departure from Carthage, as General into Spain, offer'd up Sacrifice to the Great Jupiter; during which folemnity, he asked me, whither I would bare him company to the Camp; which when I readily accepted of, and began to importune him, that he would not scruple to take me along with Him; I will (fays he) grant your Request, provided you will take an Oath, which I shall propose to you; Upon which he led me to the Altar where be design'd to Sacrifice. And when (according to Custom) I had laid my Hands upon it; the rest of the Company being at a distance, he commanded me to swear, That I would never be in Friendship with the Roman People. This Oath, which my Father then gave me, I have preserved Se inviolably to this very day, as not to give any Man the least ground of suspecting, but that I shall be ever of the same Disposition. So that now if you entertain any thoughts of contracting any kind of Friendship with the Romans, twill be your wisect course to conceal it from my knowledg; but on the other hand, whenever you design a War with them, you will very much mistake your measures, if you do not principally commit the management of it to my hands.

'Twas at this Age he accompanied his Far ther into Spain, after whose Death Hasare bal fucceeding as General, the Command of the Cavalry was conferr'd upon Him; and Hasdrubal not long after being Murder'd, the Army unanimously chose Him in his place; an account of which no fooner reach'd Carthage, but was receiv'd with the publick Approbation of the State. Thus Hannibal, not yet Twenty-five-years of Age, was actually General of all the Carthaginian Forces, and within the space of Three years after, subdued all the Countries of Spain; He took Saguntum (a City in Allyance with the Romans) by Storm. He rais'd three vast Armies; one of which he fent into Afric, another he left with his Brother Hasdrubal in Spain, and the third he Commanded in Person into Italy. He pass'd the Pyrenean Mountains, and all along as he march'd, having frequent Encounters with the Inhabitants, He Conquer'd all He Fought.

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Fought. Coming at last to those Alps which divide Italy from Gallia; the Inhabitants oppos'd his Paffage, which he foon laid open by cutting them in pieces. He was the first Man that ever led an Army over these Mountains, except Hercules the Grecian, from whose passage they took their Name. Here Hannibal open'd the Way, and fortified the Pass, making so great an alteration, that the Elephants, together with their Furniture, could march conveniently in that very place, where before a ingle Man, tho' unarm'd, could fcarce creep along. From hence leading his Forces into Italy, he had an Encounter on the River Rhone with P. C. Scipio the Conful, and put him to flight. He fought him likewife near the River Po, for the Town Clastidium, where Scipio himself was Wounded, and his Army utterly Routed. He had a Third Battle with him and his Collegue Tiberius Longus, who advanc'd towards himnear the River Trebia, where he engaged them and defeated them both. Marching at length through Liguria, he cross'd the Appenine Hills, intending for Hetruria. In this march he was extreamly afflicted with a destemper in his Eyes, to that degree, that he could never recover the perfect use of his right one again; But notwithstanding his indisposition was such that he was forc'd to be carried in a Litter, he obtain'd a very fignal

fignal Victory over C. Flaminius the Conful, at the Lake * Thrasimenus, where having circumvented him by ambush, he cut him off with his whole Army. In a short time after, he ferv'd C. Centenius in the same manner, who with a chosen party of Men, had posses'd himself of the Tops of the Mountains. He came from hence into Apulia, where the two Confuls C. Terentius Varro. and Lucius Paulus Emilius advanced towards Him, and in one Battle he routed both their Armies; In which Engagement Lucius Paulus the Conful was kill'd, with many more who had fuffain'd that Dignity, amongst whom was Cn. Serilius Geminus, who had enjoyed it the foregoing year. After this Action, He march'd to Rome without any Opposition. He halted for fome time on the neighbouring Mountains, and in a few days after decamp'd from thence. In his return to Capua, Q. Fabius Maximus the Roman Dictator, oppos'd himfelf to him in the Falernian Field. Tho? the Streights were fo very narrow, that Hannibal's Army was perfectly thut up, yet by the advantage of the Night he got away without any damage. Here it was, that he outwitted that fubtle Commander Fabius: For in the dead of the Night he commands 1.4

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^{*} Now call'd Lago di Perugia.

his Soldiers to fer fire to the Boughs of Trees, which he had before order'd to be fasten'd to the Horns of a confiderable number of Oxen, which he drove in a Hurry upon them. This unexpected fight was no fooner beheld, but it put the Roman Army into fuch a Conflernation, that not a Man offer'd to fir out of his Trenches. A few days after he defeated Marcus Minucius Rufus, General of the Cavalry (whose Command at that time, by the Votes of the People, was made equal to that of Dictator) whom he had cunningly decoy'd into a Battle. And tho' he was not present at the Action (as being then in Lucania), yet at a distance he laid an Ambush for Titus Sempronius Gracchus, the second time Conful, and slew him; as he did Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who had five times bore that Office. Twould he a tedious work to give a distinct Relation of each particular Action, so that this fhort Account shall suffice, to shew the World how extraordinary a Person he was. That so long as he was in Italy no Man was able to refift him in Battle; neither durft any one after the Defeat at Canna make Head against him in the Field. Being thus far a Conqueror, He was employed in the management of the War against the Son of that Scipio whom he had formerly beaten on the Rivers of Rhone and Po, having likewise defeated him near the River Trebia.

But the Affairs of his Country being in a desperate Condition, he was very willing (in a Conference with Scipio) to put an end to the War at present, that he might be in a better condition to renew it. Accordingly they had an Interview; but the Conditions proposed were such as could not be agreed upon. So that in a few days afterwards he fought him at Zama; in which Battel, Hannibal being utterly routed, with incredible speed, in the space of two Days and two Nights, arriv'd at Advumetum, which is Three Hundred Miles diffant from Zama. In this flight the Numidians (who quitted the Battle at the same time with Hannibal) conspir'd against him; but he had not only the good Fortune to avoid their Treachery, but to suppress them. Here he rallied together all those who had faved themselves by flight; and new Musters being made, in a few days he lifted a confiderable number. While he was thus earnestly employed in making preparations for a War, the Carthaginians conclude a Peace with the Romans. Hannibal notwithstanding had the Command of an Army, and (together with his Brother Mago) was in Action in Afric till the time that P. Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius were Confuls; for 'twas during their Magistracy, that the Carthaginian Embaffadors were fent from Carthage to Rome, to return thanks to the Senate and People tor

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for the Peace they had granted; and in confideration of the Favour, to present them with a Golden Crown; intreating them withal, that their Hostages might be remov'd to Fregella, and their Prisoners Reftor'd. To whom the Senate gave this answer, that as their Present was very grateful and acceptable to them, so likewise they confented, that their Hostages might be lodg'd where they had defired; but that their Captives should by no means be releas'd, because they still employ'd Hannibal (the Author and Beginner of the War, and the irreconcileable Enemy of the Roman Name) with his Brother Mago, in the chief Command of their Armies. They no sooner receiv'd this answer, but Hanni-bal and Mago were recall'd home again-Hannibal at his return, was chosen Prætor, after he had been King Twenty-two years. For as it was customary at Kome, yearly to elect two Confuls; at Carthage two Kings were annually chosen. He acquitted himfelf in this Employment, with the same Prudence as he did in War; for he took care, that the new Imposts should not only furnish Mony for the Tribute pay'd to the Romans, but that some over and above should be left to lay up in the Exchequer. The year after his Prætorship, Embassadors arriving at Carthage, Hannibal suspesting they came to demand him, privately takes

Ship before they could have Audience of the Senate, and flies to King Antiochus in Syria; which when the Carthaginians knew, they immediately fent out two Ships with orders to apprehend him if they could overtake him, which not being able to effect, they confiscated his Goods, raz'd his House to the very Ground, and proclaim'd him a Banish'd Man. In the Consulship of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Minutius (which was three years after his departure from his own Country) He Cruis'd for fometime bout the Coast of Cyrenaica with five Ships, endeavouring to perswade the Carthaginians to renew the War, upon the confidence of Antiochus his strength, whom he had already perswaded to invade Italy; then He engag'd his Brother Mago in the defign, of which the Carthaginians being informed, they us'd him with the same severity they had inflicted on his Brother. Thus their Affairs being in an ill condition, they fet fail for Asia to King Antiochus. There are two different accounts given of the De th of Mago, some Authors affirming that he Perish d by Shipwrack, others, that he was murder'd by his own Servants. H d Antiochus hearken'd to Hannibal's Councel, as well in the management of the War, as he had done in the undertaking it, the decision of the Empire of the World might have been nearer the River Tibur than the Streights:

Streights of Thermopyla. But notwithstanding, this great Commander well understood the Imprudence of his Conduct, yet he would never forfake him in any Enterprize. He was made Admiral of a small Fleet, with orders to convey them from Syria into Asia, with this he ingaged the Rhodian Navy in the Pamphylian Sea, who being very much Superiour to him in Number, his Party was beaten, the' that Squadron which he himself fought in, had the advantage of the Enemy. After the Defeat of Antiochus, Hannibal fearing least he would deliver him up to the Romans (as certainly he would have done, had not He prevented him) went into Crete to the Gortynians, that he might have time there to consider, how to dispose of Himself hereafter. And here, out of his extraordinary fubtilty, He forefaw he thould be in great danger, by reason of the Covetous humour of the Cretans. For he brought a confiderable fum of Mony with Him, the rumour of which he knew was already spread abroad. This therefore was his device; Having fill'd a great number of Veffels with Lead, and covering the top of them with Gold and Silver, He places them in the Temple of Diana, in the presence of the Gortynians; pretending that He committed his whole Fortune to their Trust. After he had put this cheat upon them, He alls up feveral Brafs hallow Statues (which he

he had brought along with Him) with his Money, and throws them negligently in the outward Court. In the mean time, they guard the Temple with the greatest strictness; not so much suspecting other People, as fearing least Hannibal, without their knowledge might remove the prize He had committed to them. Thus our Carthaginian, having fav'd his Treasure intire, and finely deluded the People of Crete, He came at length to Prusias the King of Bythinia in Pontey; where He still preserve his old inclination towards Italy, and made it his endeavour to engage the King against the Roman People. But when He perceiv'd He was not firong enough of Himfelf to oppose them, He Affociated other Kings, and Warlike Nations in a Confederacy. Eumenes, as being a great Friend to the Roman Interest, refus'd to joyn in the Alliance; fo that they maintain'd a War with each o-ther, both by Sea and Land. But being back'd by the Romans, He was infinitely too hard for them. Now Hannibal perceiving, how necessary it was for the better success in His Affairs, that Eumenes should be cut off, he resolves upon this way to rid himfelf of Him. They were in a short time to engage at Sea; but Hannibal heing overpower'd in number, Stratagem was to supply the place of Strength; Accordingly he charges his Men to get as many poysonous Serpents Serpents as they could, and put them into Earthen Vessels; of which they procur'd (as commanded) a confiderable number. On the day that they were to fight, having call'd his Seamen together, he gave them order, that they should all rush together upon the Ship in which Eumenes was, and that in the mean time, they need not doubt, but that they were able enough to defend themselves from the rest, since they were provided of fo great a number of Serpents. t should be his bufiness to shew them which vas the Ship he would have affaulted, and likewife to reward the Person who should either Kill the King, or take him Prisoner. After he had given these directions, the two Fleets being fet in order, and about to engage; That his Soldiers might plainly fee, where this Eumenes was before the fign was given, He fends out a Messenger in a small Boat, having a White Wand in his Hand (as a token of Peace) when he was come near to the Fleet, he shews them a Letter, asks for the King, upon which he was immediately Conducted to Him, every one taking it for granted, that Hannibal had fent him to treat of Peace; the Messenger having thus discover'd to his own Party which was the King's Ship, returns again-When Eumenes had broke open the Letter, he found nothing contain'd therein, but what tended to Laughter and Contempt of the

his Person; He very much wonder'd what the meaning of this should be, which tho' he could not understand, without any more ado, He engages the Enemy; At the very first Onset, the Bythinians, according to their orders, rushing on altogether, beset Eumenes his Ship, who being not able to withstand their Shock, saved his Life by flight, which he could never have effected, had he not betook himself to his Guards in the neighbouring Shore. When the rest of the Navy of Eumenes began more fiercely Attack the Bythinians, they pour'd in their Vesselsupon them, which at first the Enemy only Laught at, who could not devise what their intent could be. But when they perceiv'd that their Ships were full of Serpents, being affrightned with the strangeness of the thing, and knowing not what danger chiefly to avoid, at last they tack'd about, and made to their Port; So that the Cunning of Hannibal was too Powerful for the Force of the Pergamenan Navy; Who by the same kind of Stratagem had frequently obtain'd great Victories at Land. these things were Transacting in Asia, King Prusias's Embassadors (then at Rome) being accidentally at Supper with Caius Quintus Flaminius the Conful; somebody accidentally happening to mention Hannibal's Name, one of the company faid, that He was in their Kingdom. The next day Flaminius

minius acquaints the Senate, with what had been affirm'd by this person, who imagining that they should be never free from Treacheries fo long as Hannibal was alive; dispatched Embassadors into Bythiniai, (one of which was Flaminius) who were to demand of the King, that He should not protect their most inveterate Enemy, but forthwith deliver Him up into their Hands. Prusias could not deny, but that Hannibal was in his Dominions, tho' He refus'd Himself to betray him to the Emballadors; defiring, that they would not request any thing which was so much against the Laws of Hospitality; But let them take Him if they could, who without any difficulties might find Him out. Hannibal conftantly confin'd Himself to one place, being a Castle, with which the King had Presented Him as a Reward for his Services, which He fo contriv'd, that he had Sallies on all fides, through which he might escape if he should have occasion; for he always fuspected that that would be fall Him, which at last did really happen. The Roman Embassadors accompanied with a great number of Men, having at length furrounded this Caftle on all parts; his Servant perceiving them from the Gate, runs to his Mafter and acquaints Him, that there appear'd a more than usual company of Armed Men; upon which he commands him to go round ail

all the doors of the House, and speedily bring him word whither there was any way to escape. When the Boy had immediately acquainted him how the case stood, and had farther affur'd him, that all the paffages were flopt, he was foon fatisfied that this could not happen by accident, but that they came to feize his Person, and that confequently he could not long enjoy his Life, which he was refolv'd should not be in another Mans disposal; upon which he immediately swallow'd a dose of Poylon. which he was always accustom'd to carry with him. Thus, this our most Valiant Hero, harrass'd with numerous and various Labours, repos'd himself in Death, the Seventieth year of his Age. Authors do not agree in whose Consulship He dyed. For Atticus in his Annals affirms, that Claudius M. Marcellus, and Q. Fabius Labeo, did then bare that Office; Polybius on the other hand afferts, that it was in the time of Lucius Amilius Paulus, and Cn. Balius Tamphilus. But Sulpicius, different from both, fays, that P. Corn. Cathegus, and Marcus Babius Tamphilus were at that time Consuls. Tho? this our great Man was always imploy d in the business of War, yet he bestowed some time in Learning. For he wrote feveral Books in the Greek Tongue, amongst which, one is an account of the Actions of Cin. Manlius Volsus in Asia, which he dedicated

to the People of Rhodes. Many there are who have given an account of the Wars of Hannibal, among which were Philenius and Sofilus the Lacedamonian, who were his Fellow-Soldiers, and liv'd with him as long as Fortune permitted. He made use of Solilus as his Master, to Instruct Him in the Greek that they druce to love his A Tongue.

But now it is time for me to make an end of this Hiftory, and proceed to the giving an account of the Roman Generals, that comparing each others Virtues, we may be able to make an Estimate, which were the

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THE LIFE

- Grand Harillian with

Done into English by Mr. Edward Robinson of Merton Coll. Oxon.

ATO was a Native of the Corporation of Tusculum.; while young, before he engag'd in Publick Affairs, he Liv'd in the Country of the Sabines, because there was his Estate left him by his Father ; M. Perpenna Conforinus was us'd to relate, that by the encouragement and advice of L. Valerius Flaccus, (who was afterwards his Partner both in the Offices of Conful and Cenfor) he remov'd to Rome, and apply'd himself to the Law. When he was Seventeen years old. he lifted himfelf a Soldier, which was under the Consulship of Q. Fabius Maximus, and M. Claudius Marcellus. He was a Tribune

bune in the Army of Sicily: When he return'd thence, he went a voluntier into the Army, under the Command of M. Claudiw Nero; where he did very good Service in the Battle of Sena, in which Hasdrubal, Hannibal's Brother, was flain. He was by lot chose Questor to P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Conful, with whom he did not live in that Friendship which the Duty of the place requir'd; and no wonder, confidering the whole course and bent of his Life was to contrary to that of Scipio's. He was made Ædile with C. Helvius. When he was Prætor, he had the Province of Sardinia alotted him for his Government; from whence fome time before (when he was Questor) as he was returning out of Africk, he invited and brought along with him Q. Ennius the Poet, which was a prize of no less value, than the greatest Triumph Sardinia could afford. He was Conful with L. Valerius Flaccus; he gain'd by lot the Government of Hispania Citerior; From whence he return'd loaden with the Honours of a Triumph. He continu'd in this Province something longer then was usual, upon which Scipio Africanus, who was now again Conful, and whose Questor Cato had been in his. former Confulship) endeavour'd to remove him, and succeed in it himself: Scipio was then the greatest Man in Rome, yet was his interest not strong enough to gain this point

of the Senate: Because at that time affairs were not Govern'd by Power, or the sway of a Faction, but according to the severe Rules of Justice. But this disappointment so disgusted Scipio, that when that Seffion of the Senate was ended, he retir'd from Publick Employment, and liv'd privately in the City; Cato being Elected Cenfor with the foremention'd Flaccus, behav'd himself in that Office with a great deal of Rigor. He Cenfur'd several of the Nobility, Publish'd new Edicks to restrain the growth of Luxury, which at that time began to show its felf in its Buds. He fpent about eighty years from his Youth to the last Days of his Life, in the Service of the Commonwealth, in all which time, the fincere pursute of the interest of the Commonwealth continually rais'd him many Enemies, which he so little valu'd, that the fear of no Man's Displeasure could influence him fo far as to alter his measures. Very many there were, who fram'd Accusations against him, which were so far from injuring his Reputation, that his good Name grew as fast upon him as his Age. He was a Man of great Conduct and Application in Bufiness; He was a skilful Husbandman, a good Statesman, a good Lawyer, a great General, a perswasive Orator, and none more addicted to Learning: He did indeed apply himself to Letters something late, yet was there scarcely any thing in the Greek or Roman

Roman Literature, that he did not perfectly understand. From his Youth he exercis'd himself in the composing Orations. When he was Old, he entertain'd himfelf with writing History, of which he left Seven Books: The first contains the Actions of the Roman Kings : The Second, gives an account of the Founding and Beginning of each City in Italy, upon which Reason possibly he entitles his Books Origines. In the Fourth, he gives a Relation of the first Punick War, and in the Fifth, of the fecond; and of all these things he has only gave us the Heads or matter of Fast, without engaging the particular circumftances of Affairs: After the same manner he wrote the rest of the Roman Wars, even to the Prætorship of Ser. Galba, (who has the Infamy of pillaging of Lusitani fix'd upon his Name). In these his Chronicles of the Wars, he did not mention any Commanders, but without any Names at all, gave us the Naked Event of things. We have given a more particular Account of his Life and Manners, in that History, which at the Request of Titus Pomponius Attions, we wrote on purpose concerning him, to which we Second been creased to Lawrence a street of

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ATTICUS

Done into English by Mr. Morgan of St. John's Coll. Oxon.

Po MPONIUS Atticus was Defeended of one of the most ancient Houses, in Rome, and the Dignity of a Knight was deriv'd down to him from his Ancestors, being an Honour Inherent in his Family. His Father was an industrious Man, and very indulgent towards him; was of a Genius Accomodated to the times, and very studious; As he was a Lover of Learning himself, so he infus'd those inclinations into his Son; for he train'd up his Youth in all those Sciences which his tender Age was capable of: But the Lad, besides a great docility of Wit, had an extraordinary

traordinary fweetness of Aspect and Elocution; so that he not only quickly apprehended what was taught him, but pronounc'd it too with a very agreeable cadence. - These Attainments fo early disclosing themselves, got him an high Keputation, and dazl d his Cotemporaries; for he gave brighter hopes of himfelf, than those other Young Gentlemen who were his School-Fellows could look fleddily upon; fo that his forwardness of Example pik'd them all with generous incitements. Amongst whom were L. Torquatus, C. Marius, Caius his Son, and M. Cicero, whom he fo gain'd to him by the obliging Air of his Conversation, that no Person was always so dear to them as he himself. His Father died in a little time, and he being very young, run a great hazard, by reason of his being related to P. Sulpitius, who was kill'd when he was Tribune of the People; For Ancia, who was Coufin German to Pomponius, Married Servius who was Brother to Sulpitius; therefore, after Sulpitius was flain, and he faw the City Embaras'd with the Commotions of Cinna, so that he could not live with that Port which became his Quality, for the Interests of the Citizens were divided, fome addicting themselves to the Faction of Cinna, and others to that of Sylla, thinking it a fair opportunity to follow his Studies, He went to Athens; But this did not hinder

hinder, but that he bestow'd Money upon young Marius, who was declared an Enemy to his Country, and fupply'd him when he was a Fugitive; and that his withdrawing from Rome might not prejudice his Domeflick Affairs, He conveyed the greatest part of his Fortune along with him thither. Here he liv'd after that manner, that he was peculiarly belov'd by all the Atheni besides the Credit he had acquir'd, was very great for a Young-Man, he reliev'd them in their Publick Exigents; for when they were to take up Money of the Bankers upon any great Payments, and could not obtain equitable Conditions, He always fo feafonably interpos'd, that, as he demanded no Interest for the sums he difburs'd, fo he would not let them owe longer than the time they promis'd to refund them; and this procur'd them a double advantage, for he would neither fuffer the Debt to grow upon them by his forbearance, nor the Usury of it to be multiplied. He made an accession to this Courtesy by another piece of Liberality, for he distributed, Corn amongst them all, and gave to each of them fix bushels of Wheat, which fort of measure is call'd Medimnus by the Athenians; Here his Carriage was so adjusted, that as he was familiar to those below him, fo He was equal to those of the first Quality. This had that grateful influence upon them,

that they would have Conferr'd all the Honours upon him they possibly could, and made him a Citizen; but this offer he refus'd, because according to some Mens opinion, he that is made a Denizon of another City, forfeits the Freedom of his own-Whilft he liv'd amongst them, he always oppos'd their defign of Erecting a Statue to him, but he could not hinder it when he was gone; fo that in his absence, they Celebrated the Memories of him and Pilia his Wife, by this lasting fort of remembrance, even in the most Consecrated places of the City; for in every Concern of the Commonwealth, they always followed his Conduct and Advice; therefore it was a partiality of Fortune to him, to be a Native of Rome, which was the Seat of the Empire of the World, and that which was his Country was his Miftress too, to whom he was Confant in his Observances; and it was a Glorious inflance of his Wisdom, that when he went to Athens, which claims the Preeminence above all other Cities for Antiquity, Humanity, and Learning, they should make choice of him amongst all Mankind to be their Darling. When Sylla came here out of Asia, as long as he tarried, he had always Young Atticus in in his Company, for he was extreamly charm'd with his good Parts, and the sweetness of his Humour; for he spoke Greek so perfectly that he ieem'd

feem'd to be born in Athens, and had that delicious fluency in the Latin Tongue, that it was very apparent, that the smoothness of it was Natural, to him and not Acquir'd; he would repeat Poems in both Languages, fo that nothing could exceed him; this fo endear'd him to Sylla, that he would scarce let him be out of his fight, and he had a great defire to have brought him away along with him, but when he endeavour'd to perswade him to it, Pomponius return'd him this answers Do not, Sir, carry me to Fight against those, upon whose account I left Italy, that I might not bear Arms against thy felf; But Sylla praising the Young Man for the good Offices he had done him, order'd, when he went away, that the Presents which were given whilst he was at Athens should be carried to his House, as the token of his thankfulness. Here he remain'd many Years, and tho' he bestow'd as much Inspection upon the Affairs of his House, as became the diligence of one that was Master of a Family, and spent the rest of his time either in Study or managing the bufiness of the Athenians, yet he continued his Kindness to his Fellow Citizens; For he Canvass d at all their Public Elections, and when any thing of importance was Transacted, He was never wanting in his Solicitations. To Cicero he shew'd himself fingularly faithful in his last Extremities, for when he was forc'd to abandon his Coun-.90mag 16 : M. 2 try,

try, he gave him * two Hundred and fifty Thousand Sesterces; But when all these Turbulencies were quieted, and the Tybur ran calmly, He return'd home, and as I think, when L. Cotta and L. Torquatus were Confuls. The day of his departure, the whole City of Athens fo deplor'd, that by the tears of their forrow they expres'd the greatness of the Love they had for him; he had an Uncle whose name was Q. Cecilius, a Roman Knight, an intimate friend of L. Lucullus's and very Rich, but he was otherwise of a morose Nature, and difficult to be pleas'd; but Atticus fo foftned his temper, which was intolerable to every one elfe, that he gain'd his good will, and retain'd it even to a decrepit Age; and then he reap'd the fruits of that Piety, with which he cultivated his four humour, for he adopted him and made him Heir to all that he had; which Inheritance amounted to ten * Millions of Sesterces. The Sister of Atticus was Married to Q. Tullius Cicero, and Marcus his Brother was a great promoter of the Match; Between whom and Atticus there was a familiarity, even from their being School-fellows together, and a closer Friendship maintain'd than with Quintins; that

^{*} Two thousand eighty three Pounds fix Shillings and eight pence, English Sterling.

^{*} Eighty three thousand three hundred thirty three Pounds fix shillings, eight pence. Sterl.

that from hence we may form a judgment, that in the Unions of that Society, the refemblance of a like disposition prevails more than Affinity; Hortensius too was his Bofome-Friend, who at that time had the chief vogue for Eloquence, fo that it was a matter utterly undecided, which lov'd him best, either him or Cicero; by this means he folv'd an inconfistence in these two Orators, which was a thing not easy to be attempted, for tho' there was a strong Contraff betwixt them for Applause, yet they never broke out into any revilings of one another, but both agreed in esteeming him. He fo Comported himself in the Commonwealth, that as He was always of the best fide, fo He had the luck to be thought fo. But He never was the party in the Civil Wars, for it was his opinion, that those who Embark in quarrels of that nature, have no more Ascendant over themselves when the Waves of Sedition work high, than those who commit their Fortunes to a Tempest. He never was ambitious of any Honour, tho' the access was easy to his pretensions, not only by: reason of his Credit, but his Quality; He faw that Men were not fo fair Candidates for it as their Fore-Fathers, they being so profuse in their Bribes to gain Votes, that the Offices of the Commonwealth could not be undertaken, and the Laws kept inviolate, nor could they be dif-M 3 charg'd

charg'd without danger, there being such a general Corruption of Manners, which Epidemically run through all the City. He never was a purchaser of any Goods that were fold by outcry, and as He never farmed any of the Publick Revenues, fo He never was a Surety for them who did. He never manag'd a Criminal Process against any one, nor Subscrib'd to anothers Accufation; for he never went to Law, nor had ever any difinitive Sentence; When many Confuls and Prætors offer'd him Governments, He would not follow any of them into their Provinces, but contenting himfelf with the Honour of the Proposal, He rejested the profits of it; He denied to go with Q. Cicero into Afia, tho' he might have been his Lieutenant-General; for He did not think it decent to be in subordinate Authority to a Frætor, who had refus'd the first Dignity it felf; and by this means, He not only Consulted his Honour, but his eafe likewife, and avoided the least umbrages of a Crime, that He might live unfuspected; the refult of this Caution was, that the affistances he paid his Friend were the more acceptable, because they were sincere, when they were the effects only of a readiness to oblige, and could not be imputed to such servile motives as Hope and Fear. When He was at bout Sixty Years Old, the Civil War of Cafar burst out into a flame; but Heenjoy'd the priviledge to attenda

viledge his Age indulg'd him, and never ftir'd out of the City; But those of his Friends who went over to Pompey's Side, He furnish'd their Expeditions out of his own Store; but Pompey could not think He difregarded, if he did not actually join him Himself, for he had not receiv'd any advantages from him, which might encourage him to it, as others had done, who by his countenancing them were become powerful and Rich; some of whom followed his Camp, but with regret and very unwillingly, and others ungrate fully tarried at home, which very highly offended him. But the Neutrality of Atticus was fo grateful to Cafar, that when he was Conqueror, and difpatch'd Imperious Mandates to private Persons to Command their Money from them, He not only not molested him, but pardon'd his Sister's Son which she had by Quintins, tho' he was of Pompey's Party; thus by keeping firm to those first maxims of Conduct Helaid down for the regulation of his Life, He preferved himself fase from all new and emergent Dangers; consequent to this, when Cafar was flain, and the Commonwealth feem'd to be devolved into the hands of Caffins and Brutus, the Fortune of Rome, like a Machine. turning about toward him; yet He fo Caress'd Brutus, that the Young Man never delighted in any ones Company, tho He was of the same Age with himfelf, with M 4 that

that pleasure as he did in that of the Venerable Atticus; for he not only admitted him into his most intimate Councels, but enjoy'd his Conversation at all his Repasts. There was a project fet on foot, that a fund of Treasure should be Constituted by the Roman Knights for the Murderers of Cafar; they thought the defign very feefible, if the Chief of that Order, would Contribute their shares towards it; whereupon C. Flavius, who was a great Friend to Brutus, apply'd himself to Atticus, that He would be a principal mover in this Business; but He, who did courtefies to those He respected, without engaging in their Factions, and had always a Temper untainted from defigns of that Nature, made this answer, That if Brutus wanted any supplies, He would Accommodate him out of his own Money to what value he pleas'd, but that he would never discourse with any Man about the Business, nor accord with him in it; fo that the united fentiments of a whole party were ruin'd by his fingle diffent. A little while after Anthony began to have the upper-hand, and Brutus and Cassius (the Affairs of those Provinces which were given them by the Confuls, only for form-fake, becoming desperate) were forc'd to fly for it. But Atticus who never employ'd his Money to Support the other Party, when Built

they were most flourishing, fent an * hundred thousand Sesterces to Brutus when he left Italy, and was broken in his Fortunes; and when He was at Epire, He order'd f three hundred thousand more to be given him, himself being Absent; and as He never the more flatter'd the Power of Anthony, to he never for fook those who were brought to a Precipice. After this followed the War of Modena, in which if I should only call him Prudent, I should detract from his Character, and speak less than I ought to do. He was rather Divine, if a Conflant Natural Goodness deserves that Appellation, which is neither shaken nor lessen'd by outward accidents; Anthony being declar'd a Publick Enemy, was forc'd to leave Italy, and there was no hopes of being Restor'd; for not only his Adversaries which were very many, and in a great Power, Combin'd against him, but his Friends joyn'd themselves to that number, and Revolted from him; they placed all their hopes of Advancement upon his Depression; they persecuted his most intimate Friends, they endeavour'd to spoil his Wife Fulvia of all her goods, and extirpate his Children. Atticus as he was familiar with Cicero, fo he MS was

^{*} Eight hundred thirty three Pound fix shillings eight pence, Sterl.

† Two thousand five hundred Pounds Sterl.

was a great friend to Brutus; by this means he not only restrain'd them from commit-ting any outrage upon Anthony himself, but he Protected as many of his Confederates which fled out of the City, as much as he possibly could, and supply'd them with all things they stood in need of. He was so kind to P. Volumnius, that greater tenderness could not be expected from a Father; and he was so diligent in his services to Fulvia when the was harrafs'd with Law-Suits, and vex'd with melancholy apprehensions, that she never enter'd into any Obligation without Atticus, for he was her Stipulator in every thing; particularly when in her prosperous Condition she had bought a parcel of Land, which was to be fatisfied for to a day, and now fince this Calamity befel her, could not take up Cash enough upon her own credit to discharge the Purchase; Atticus came in opportunely to redress the grievance, for he lent her Mony without interest, or so much as prefixing a day when it should be repayed; for he reckon'd himfelf the greatest gainer by the Reputation of a grateful and obliging Man; and thereby make it appear, that he did not Contract an acquaintance with Mens Fortunes, but their Persons. And tho' these were his Actions, yet no one could imagine he did them out of any temporifing principle; for it could not rationally enter into any one's

Opinion, that Anthony would ever recover that game of Empire he feem'd fo utterly to have loft; but every now and then he receiv d. fecret checks from fome of the Nobility, objecting to him, that his hatred was not intenfe enough against such profligate Citizens. But he confiding in his own Judgment, had a regard rather to what ought to be done, than what other Men would commend, whether it was right or no. For the scene of Fortune swiftly chang'd, and when Anthony return'd into Italy, every one was in pain for Atticus; for they thought he must be involved in great rifques, by reason of the strict Communication that was between him and Brutus, and Cicero: therefore when the Triumvirate approach'd the City, he went out of it, for he fear'd Profcription, and absconded in the House of P. Volumnius, to whom he was so Eminently Serviceable, as we have shew'd before. So Capricious was the turn of Affairs in those times, that sometimes one Party and fometimes another, would either be in the height of Profperity, or the Abyfs of Misfortune. He was not alone in thi Retirement, but Q. Gellius Canius, who wa's of the same Age, and resembled Him in the Customs of his Life, was the Companion of his Obscurity; and this in another instance of the good nature of Arricus, that he liv'd fo lovingly with him whom He knew

knew from his Childhood, and was his Play-fellow, for their Friendship grew up with their years, and lasted even to an ex-tream old Age. Anthony, tho' he was so inveterately angry with Cicero, that he not only declar'd open enmity against him, but threatn'd all his Abettors, and was refolv'd to proscribe them; yet when many made Remonstrances to him in the behalf of Articus, and he himself call'd to mind the Engagements he had formerly laid upon him, he as fuddenly Relented; fo that he Writ to him with his own Hand to know where he was, bid him not be afraid, but that he should immediately come to him, for that he had struck him and Gellius Canius out of the number of the Proscrib'd; Besides he fent him a Guerd to affure him in the darkness, and free him from the dangers of the Night; by this means his fears were difpers'd, and he not only fecur'd himfelf, but was an Instrument of fafety to the Man who was next dear to him. For he never folicited to be out of trouble alone, but in Conjunction with his Friend, that by this it might appear, that Men who love one another are not to be divided in their Fortunes. If that Pilot therefore deferves applause who steers his Ship in a Winter Sea, when the Seafon is as rough as the Ocean, why should not his Prudence merit a particular Encomium, who arriv'd

at fafety through fo many Civil broils and fuch Storms in the State? When he had work'd himself out of these distresses. He was intent upon nothing else than how he might Affift as many as he could, and in what things he was able. When the Triumvirate fet a price upon the heads of the Proscrib'd, that the prospect of a reward might encourage the Rabble to a fearch, there was not any one who fled into Epire who wanted for any thing; and he gave them liberty to make it their perpetual Refidence; befides, after the Battle at Philippa, and the Slaughter of C. Cassius and M. Brutus, He was resolv'd to shelter L. Julius Mocilla the Pretor, and his Son Aulus Torquatus, and the rest who were beaten down with the same stroke of Fortune; and He Commanded likewise supplies to be sent them when they Retir'd out of Epire into Samothracia. It is very hard, and indeed not necessary, to run minutely through all his Actions, this only I contend for, and which ought to be understood, That his Liberality, was not cover'd over with any Sinister defign, nor was it to humour the present current of Affairs; this may be concluded from the things themselves, and the Complexion of those times; for he never fided with the Prosperous, but always fuccour'd those who were in Affliction; for He was as Affiduous in his respects to Servillia the

the Mother of Brutus after the Death of her Son, as when he was living and most happy. Being fo Generous, He could not well provoke any to be his Enemy, for he never offer'd an Injury, and if another was the Agressor upon him, he chose rather to forget than Revenge the Affront; if he receiv'd a Civility, the impression of it was Immortal, never to be effac'd; but if he confer'd one, it easily fell out of his Mind, till he that was oblig'd renew'd the memory of it by his acknowledgments; doing after this manner, he confirm'd the truth of that faying, That every one owes his tucky hits to the Conduct of himfelf; but the making his Fortune, was the last thing in his Intention, he first form'd his Manners as a previous Qualification, and with fuch an exquisite niceness, that he might not juftly be charg'd with any thing that was culpable. By this means it came to pass, that when M. Vipfanius Agrippa, who was the Favourite of young Octavius, might have had his choice out of the Ladies of the best Condition in Rome, by reason of his own Credit and the Power of Cafar, yet He was ambitious of being related to Him, and defir'd rather to marry the Daughter of a Roman Knight, as the nobler Alliance; The chief Manager of this Match (for it is not to be conceal'd) was Anthony, who was one of the Triumvirate for fettling the Com-

Commonwealth. Being shin'd upon by his Favour, he might have made large Additions to his Estate; but he was so little infected with the love of Money, that he never us'd it but in those occasions where his Friend was to be freed from danger. and eas'd of any thing that incommoded him. An illustrious instance of this was in the time of the Profcription; for when the Triumvirate had fold the Goods of L. Saufeius a Roman Knight, according to the custom which then obtain'd, who was of the fame Age with himself, had Resided many years at Athens to Study Philosophy, and had noble Lordships in Italy; Atticus carried Himself in this business with so much Industry and Address, that the same Messenger who brought him word that he had loft his Patrimony, contradicted his own news, by telling him, that he had recover'd it again. He likewise clear'd off L. Julius Calidius, who I am bold to affirm, after the Death of Lucretius and Catullus, was the most Elegant Poet of his time; He was no less famous for the integrity of his Morals, and his being Educated in all the best Arts; This Manaster the Knights were Proscrib'd, tho' He was absent, yet He was brought into the number by P. Volumnius, who was Overseer of the Workmen of Anthony; and his great Possessions in Africk made him obnoxious to this punishment;

So that it made it a puzling question, whe ther there was more difficulty, in the undertaking, or Glory in the performance. But it was a Character of Atticus generally known, that it was his care as much to relieve his absent Friends as those that were present; and he was as good a Father of a Family as he was a Citizen; for tho he was a great Monied-Man, yet no one was fo moderate a Purchaser, nor Built less than he did; not but that he liv'd very Commodiously, and what things he ferv'd himself of, they were the best of their kind. His House was Situate in the Quirinal Hill, which was an Inheritance left him by his Uncle, whose pleasantness did not consist. in the Curiofity of the Structure, but in the Wood that encompass'd it; for being a Pile rais'd after the antient manner, it had more of conveniency in it than beauty; and he never made any Alterations, but where the decays by the injury of time requir'd. to be repair'd; His Family, if we judge. of them by their usefulness, was extraordinary; but if we regard only the outward appearance, it was fcarce tolerable; for it was made up of Lads who were very good Scholars, could read excellently well, and writ delicate hands for Transcribing, and there was scarce any Foot-boy but could do either of them to admiration. All the Artificers too, whose Art was necessary for the

the Adorning his Apartments, were the choicest of their Profession. And there was not one of them but was born and run thro' the Novitiate of their feveral Trades in his House; which was a sign not only of his moderation but great industry; for not to be intemperate in our desires after those things which others fo eagerly covet, is a great continency of temper; and to acquire that by diligence which others are at an expence for, argues a more than ordinary Application. Atticus was rather Polite than Magnificent; he did all things for his Honour, but without any excess of Cost; he was always clean and neat, but did not affect an Effeminate niceness. As for his Moveables and Furniture they were Competently Rich, and did not abound; fo that he avoided the two extreams of being Stingy and Profuse. I will not omit one thing, tho' to some it may seem a matter of light importance, that tho' he was one of the most Splendid of the Roman Knights, and receiv'd Men of all Conditions at his House with a Liberal Hospitality, yet he spent no more than just * Three Thousand Affes a Month, as appears by the Register of his Disburfements; and this I do not fpeak by hearfay, but as a thing I am certain of; for

^{*} Equivalent to ten Pounds Sterl.

by reason of the familiarity betwixt us, I was Conversant in the Family, was at the casting up of the Accounts. He had no other Confort at all his Feafts but only a fingle Reader, which in my opinion was the most ravishing Musick; nor did he ever Sup without one of these Lectures; that whilst their Appetites were Regaled, the Minds of the Guests might be entertain'd with fomething more diverting; for he never invited any one to his Table but in whom he discern'd a dispositition conformable to his own. Tho' Riches flow'd in upon him, yet he never heightned his daily Provisions, nor deviated from the former measures of his Life; for He was so moderate, that when he was Worth but * Twenty Hundred Thousand Sesterces, He did not Live Ingloriously, which was the Estate left him by his Father; fo when it amounted to + Ten Millions, He did not raise his Port to any greater Affluence than what he first design'd; for he kept inalterably to the fame pitch in either fortune. As for his other Recreations, he had no Gardens with Parcall A farelood Three Thouland Alles

Pounds Thirteen Shillings and Four Pence Sterling.

[†] The fun Total is One Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterl. For these Reductions of the Roman Coin to the English Standard, I am obliged to the Learned Mr. Wase.

terres, nor no delightful place to take the Air in the Suburbs; He had no Sumptuous Villa near the Sea-shore, nor indeed in all Italy, except it were at Ardea and Nomentum, which were only two Country-farms; And all the Revenues He had confifted in the Lands he had at Epire, and some Poffessions in the City; from whence it may be known, that he did not make his eftimate of Money by the immense quantity, but the rational use of it. As He was always a Man of strict veracity himself, so he abhorr'd lying in another; therefore his courtely was mix'd with somewhat that was Austere, and he was Affable but Grave; fo that it was hard to fay, whether his Friends Lov'd or Reverenc'd him most; whatever was entreated of him he would promise solemnly to do it, for it was his opinion that he was not a generous but an inconstant Man, who would engage for that which he was not able to perform. He was so industrious in bringing an affair to a refult which he had once espous'd, that he feem'd to Tranfact his own Concern and not anothers, which was deputed to his Management; and when he had once undertaken a bufiness, He was unwearied in his pursuits, for he thought his Reputation was Interess'd in it, of which he was jealous even to a delicacy; By this means he folicited the business of Marcus and Quintias Cicero, of Marius, Cato, Hortenfins, Aulus Torquatus, and many other Roman Knights; from whence we may infer, that it was an effect of his judgment, and did not pro-ceed from any unactive temper, that he declin'd the publick Functions of the Commonwealth. A greater inflance of the Complaifance of his humour cannot be given than this, that when he was a Young Man he was very agreeable to Sylla who was in the decline of his Age, and when himfelf was old, M. Brutus extreamly delighted in him who was in the bloom of his Years; he liv'd fo amicably with his Cotempotaries Hortensius and Cicero, that it is hard to fay to which Age his Genius was most adapted; but Cicero Lov'd him the most fervently of the two, for it was to the last degree of Affection; fo that his Brother Quintins was not dearer or more familiar to him; the real evidences of it, besides those Books in which he makes mention of him, which are already publish'd, are those fixteen Volumes of Epistles which he fent to Atticus from the beginning of his Consulfhip even to his latter days, which whofoever reads he will not defire a more Connected History of those times; for in them the Inclinations and Defigns of Princes, the faults of Generals in their Conduct, and the Revolutions of the Commonwealth. are fo perspicuously trac'd out, that all the

intrigues of State are unravell'd, and the fprings of Policy feem to lye open; fo that from hence we may conclude, that Pru-dence is a fort of Divination; For Cicero not only pointed out all the accidents of his own own time, but with a brisker heat of Prophesy foretold all the events which have happen'd fince, and we sensibly expe-What need I Commer orate any thing more of the Piety of Atticus? When I heard Him Glorying thus justly of himfelf, in the Funeral Oration he made upon his Mother, whom He buried at Ninety years of Age, himself being Sixty-seven, that he never had any occasion to be reconcil'd to Her; and no difference ever happen'd betwixt him and his Sifter, who was almost of the same Age with himself; which are manifest indications, either that no causes of Dissatisfaction ever arose between them, and so there was no need of Cement where nothing was broken; or that he was so kind to his Relations, that he thought it even a piece of Irreligion to be angry with those whom he had all the obligations upon him to Love. And this he did not fo much by the tender inftinct of Nature, whose suggestions we are all obsequious to, but it was the effect of his Learning, and he acquir'd it by Study; for the Precepts of the chief Philosophers were closely impress'd upon him, and they did

not serve for Parade and Ostentation, but he made them useful to him in the whole course of his Life. He set the Manners of the antient Romans before him as the patterns of his imitation, and fairly copied out the great Originals; he was likewise a Studious Lover of Antiquity; this Knowledge he intimately convers'd with, and gave large demonstrations of it in the Volume he Wrote of Magistracy, which was a Pro-vince he ingeniously adorn'd; for there was not a Law made, no Peace concluded, nor no War undertaken, not an Action of Consequence done by the Roman People, but he hath related it with a firict Chronology, and adjusted every occurrence to its proper time; and which seems an attempt of great intricacy, he hath interwoven in it the Pedigrees of some Families, with so fine a Texture, that by them we may know the beginnings of those Men who have made any confiderable Figure in Rome. He did the fame thing separately in other Books; as at the entreaty of M. Brutus, he deriv'd the Junian Family from its first Source, and shew'd all the Channels in which it hath flow'd down even to our times; diffinctly numbring each one's Predecessor in a true series of Succession, and relating what Honours they attain'd to, and in what times they enjoy'd them; he did the like courtefy for Marcellus Claudius

345

concerning the Marcelli; and at the instances of Scipio Cornelius and Fahius Maximus, He gave an account of the Cornelian. the Fabian, and the Emilian Families; and nothing carries with it so endearing a relish as these Books to those who have the least tincture of curiofity to be acquainted with the descents of Illustrious Men; he had a Imattering too in Poetry, which I believe was, that he might not be ignorant what fweetness there was in it; for if any had arriv'd to a higher pitch of Dignity beyond the ordinary Romans, or had fignalized themselves by any notable performances, he employ'd his Poetical Talent to record their Gallantry; for He describ'd their Exploits, and what Charges they had in the Government under each of their Pictures, and this in no more than four or five Verses, which feems a thing almost incredible, that he could comprise Transactions of such high moment in so narrow a compass. He Writ a Book also in Greek concerning the Confulthip of Cicero. These things we have related of him were whilst Atticus was alive; but now fince the malignity of fate will have us to out-live Him, we will run through the rest of his Actions, and dispatch what remains of this Great Man; that by real and bright examples, we may inftruct the Reader, and fo confirm that axiome we have before laid down, That every

one allures Fortune to his side, according as he manageth himself; for Atticus contenting himself with the Paternal Dignity of a Knight which descended to him, he at last came to be related to the Son of Julius, and the friendship between them was heightned into Affinity; for he had before gain'd the confidence of Augustus by the elegancy of his Living; and this was the inducement by which he attracted others of the chiefest rank in the City to his Conversation, who were of as Noble an Extraction as the Emperor, but their condition was unequal, because not so prosperous; for Fortune seem'd to fawn upon Casar, and so constant a success still followed him, that all the Honours fhe ever decreed to any of her Favourites, fhe confer'd upon him; and with her Auspicious gales convey'd him to the utmost Ho-nour which the Ambition of a Citizen could aspire to. Agrippa made Atticus a Grandfather, who married his Daughter when fhe was a tender Virgin; this Female-Infant, tho she was scarce a year old, Cafar betroth'd to Tiberius Claudius Nero, which his Wife Drufilla, had by a former Husband, and was his Son-in-law; this Alliance confirm'd their former Amity, and tied it on with an inviolable Sanction. Tho' before these Espousals, not only when he was abfent from Rome, when he Writ to any of his Friends, he fent to Attitus even the minutes

nutes of his Life, as what he was then doing, especially what Author he was Reading, in what Place he Resides, and how long he defign'd to tarry there; but he likewife when he was in the City, and was distracted by multiplicity of Business, which gave him fo great an Avocation, that he could not enjoy him fo often as he would, yet the Commerce of the Pen was not interrupted, for no day pas'd in which he did not by Letter ask his Opinion in fome matters relating to Antiquity, of propose some Poetical question; sometimes he would be facetious only and rally him, that the answers in which he Reparteed might be the more prolix, which had this good effect, That when the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which Romulus built in the Capitol, thro' Age and Peoples being incurious of its Repairs, began to threaten a total Ruin, Casar, by the perswasion of Atticus, took care to support it. M. Anthomy had him in no less passionate esteem, and maintain'd an intercourse with him of this nature; for when he was banish'd even to the extreme limits of the Empire, yet he certified his Atticus to a nice punctilio of what he was then upon, and what defign he had in farther Projection; He only is qualified to judge of the greatness of this Correspondence, who can make a true effimate what a piece of Confummate Wildom

it is to retain the favour, and reconcile the jealousies of two great Personages, who were Competitors in the fame Ambition. betwixt whom there was not only a bare Emulation, but a perfect Antipathy, which kindled into the mutual upbraiding one another; it was an Aversion as strong as could possibly be between an Anthony and a Cafar, who would not divide the Globe, but each one contended not only to be Mafter of Rome, but Emperor of the World. Through all these Traverses of Life, he at rriv'd to the feventy-feventh year, and his Credit and Riches multiplied upon him even to an extream old Age; (for many left him all that they had, purely upon the account of his wonderful Goodness.) But now after he had been of fo ftrong a Complexion that he had no need of a Physician for Thirty years together, his health was fo entire, he at last contracted a Disease which Himself and his Doctors at first despis'd as a very flight indisposition, for they thought it to be a * Tenesmus, therefore they administred quick and easy applications, to difperse it in its first accesses. After he had languish'd three Months, without any more fensible uneafiness than what He receiv'd to Aidres of the stanted of the

^{*} This is a fruitless endeavour of Nature to ease her self, occasion'd by defluxion of sharp humours, the which irritate the Sphinctor of the Anus.

ceiv'd from the methods of his Cure, the whole weight of his Diftemper funk at last into one of his Guts, which broke out afterwards into a very putrid Fistula; But before this Crisis happen'd to Him, when he found his Pains to encrease and his Blood grow warm, he order'd his Son-in-Law Agrippa to be fent for, with L. Cornelius Balbus and Sextus Peducaus; when he faw they were come, leaning upon his Couch he spoke to them after this Manner: What care have I taken for the Preferontion of my Health, since you all can abundantly attest, a discourse of that Nature will be altogether superfluous; Hoping therefore that I have given you fatisfaction, and being Conscious to my self, that I have omitted nothing which carried the least tendency in it towards a cure; it only remains now that I more nearly consult my self, and this is the thing I would acquaint you with, that I am resolv'd no longer to nourish my Disease but starve it; for the sustenance I have taken these last days hath protracted my Life indeed, but it hath prolong'd my Afflictions withit, without any hopes of recovery. I therefore beg it of you, that you would first approve of my expedient, and then use no arguments to dissipade me from it, for it will be be all in vain. He spoke this with fuch a strong Voice, and such an affur'd Countenance, as if He was not leaving the World, but paffing from one House into another. But Agrippa with Tears

ars in his Eyes killing him, did not only entreat, but earneffly Conjur'd him not to Accelerate his fate himself, but let Nature bring it leifurely upon him; and fince there were remains of Health which would in Life keep some time longer, that he would fuffer himself to survive both for his own fake and that of his Friends; but he rejected his importunities with an obstinate Silence. Thus after two days rigid his Fever went off without any Paroxy mes, and all the Symptoms were ifeftly abated: But he thinking it not worth the while to live, would not recede from his first purpose, therefore the fifth day after he had taken up his fatal Resolution he departed this Life, which was the day before the Kalends of April, L. Domirise and C. Sofius being Confuls. His Body was brought forth in a Litter, as he himself had order'd, without any Funeral Pomp; but all the best Men of the City accompanied the Corps with a numerous Concourfe of the Common People; He was buried five miles from Rome by the Appian way, in the Monument of Q. Cecilius his Uncle.

10 JY60

FINIS